

The Johns Hopkins University

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CERTAIN COLORS IN ROMAN RITUAL

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS
HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

MARY EMMA ARMSTRONG

The Collegiate Press

GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY
MENASHA, WISCONSIN

1917

110

7/6/14

The Johns Hopkins University

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CERTAIN COLORS IN ROMAN RITUAL

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS
HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



BY

MARY EMMA ARMSTRONG

Geo. Banta

The Collegiate Press
GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY
MENASHA, WISCONSIN

1917



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/IA41546703_0003

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PRELIMINARY NOTE.....	v
CHAPTER I: SCARLET.....	1
CHAPTER II: PURPLE.....	21
CHAPTER III: BLACK AND WHITE.....	32
CHAPTER IV: GOLD.....	39
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	51

PRELIMINARY NOTE

The significance of color in religion has never been made the subject of extended or thorough study. In recent years students of folk-lore, recognizing the importance of color in primitive life, have begun to record its uses among semi-civilized tribes. The prominence of the color red in the religious rites of these tribes and of ancient nations, especially in the cult of the dead, has attracted attention, and several explanations of its use have been offered. Yet even here there has been no serious attempt to distinguish between the different shades of red, and to determine the meaning of each. Among very primitive peoples, it is true, no such distinction exists, but it was evidently made by the Greeks and Romans before historical times. The symbolic use of black and white among the Greeks, the Romans, and the Germans has also been given some consideration. Yet with the exception of a few scattered articles on these colors and brief references in works dealing with other phases of ancient life, nothing has been written upon the symbolism of the different colors used in early religions.

The religious feeling of the ancient Romans permeated so large a part of their life, and formed the basis of so many customs, that a complete study of their religious use of various colors would be a very difficult and lengthy task. In the following pages, therefore, the subject has been limited to Roman ritual and its use of five particular colors—scarlet, purple, black, white, and gold. Even here explanations are necessary and certain limitations have been made.

When it was realized that *purpureus* and *puniceus* must be treated separately, it was the intention to investigate their use in Greek ritual also. But it soon became evident that in this respect Greek customs were not entirely parallel with those of the Romans, and that they varied in different parts of the Greek world. The evidence collected suggests that these colors had the same religious significance in both nations. But a complete investigation of this matter would require more time than can be spared for it now, and it may be enough for present purposes to discuss only the Roman usage. The usual term "purple" has been adopted as the translation of *purpureus*, since there is no exact English equivalent of the Latin word. "Dark-red" would be only less unsatisfactory, and "purple" has the advantage of being generally accepted.

Though black and white are not colors in the scientific sense, they are so regarded in decoration and in ritualistic use, and therefore have their place in the present investigation. Black has been treated only as opposed to white, since it is connected only with the underworld and the full discussion of that obscure phase of religion, with the colors belonging to it, is beyond the scope of this article.

The employment of gold in ritual seems clearly due to its color, not to its value or its other qualities as a metal; hence it is legitimately included in this discussion.

It may seem strange that so important a color as *luteus*, used in marriage ceremonies, has been omitted, but a brief investigation showed that, in order to determine its meaning, a careful consideration of the relation between the cult of Vesta, the duties of the Flaminica Dialis, and the marriage rites would be necessary. That, too, would prove sufficient for a separate study.

There has been no attempt to decide why any color was more prominent in the worship of one deity than in that of others; only the general use of the colors has been considered, with the reasons for their original connection with Roman ritual. In many places it has been impossible to give a complete list of references to Latin authors, owing to the great abundance of such material. It is hoped, however, that the references given are sufficient for purposes of illustration.

CHAPTER I

SCARLET

The color *red* embraces so great a variety of shades that even highly civilized man does not readily distinguish them. We recognize that there is a difference between crimson, scarlet, magenta, and vermillion, for example, but in referring casually to any one of these shades we call it *red*. This carelessness has brought an added element of confusion into the study of that already confused subject, Roman religion. Many eminent scholars have paid no attention to the difference between *purpureus* and *puniceus*, a distinction which was sharply made by the Romans in religious matters. Other writers, notably Helbig, consider the distinction important, but have not yet endeavored to trace the original meaning of both colors. It is the purpose of this chapter to show briefly what the difference was, to point out the use of scarlet in various phases of Roman religion, and, to some extent, at least, to account for that use.

The term *purpureus* (πορφύρεος) included many shades of dark red,¹ ranging from a shade which was not far from scarlet² to a deep violet. The best varieties were made at Tyre from the liquor secreted by certain salt-water snails, the *murex* or *bucinum* and the *purpura* or *pelagia*,³ though the Romans also used the purple made in other countries from vegetable dyes.

Scarlet (*coccineus*) was often called *puniceus* or *phoeniceus* (φοινίκεος) because it was manufactured chiefly at Carthage. It was made from an insect living on the scarlet oak which was thought to be the berry (*coccum*, κόκκος) of that tree.⁴

Many passages of both prose and poetry⁵ show that the distinction existed even in common speech, but, naturally, as in modern times, the

¹ Dig. 32, 70, 13: "Purpureae autem appellatione omnis generis purpuram contineri puto, sed coccum non continebitur; fucinum et ianthinum continebitur."

² This color was not permanent unless combined with other dyes; cf. Pliny, *N. H.* IX, 134: "bucinum per se damnatur, quoniam fucum remittit: pelagio admodum alligatur nimiaeque eius nigrityae dat austeritatem illam nitoremque qui quaeritur cocci. Ita permixtis viribus alterum altero excitatur aut adstringitur."

³ Pliny (*N. H.* IX, 125-140) describes the Tyrian processes of manufacture. A full account is given by Blümner, *Tech. und Term.* I, pp. 233-248.

⁴ Pliny, *N. H.* XVI, 32; IX, 141; XXII, 3.

⁵ E. g., Plaut. *Menaech.* V, 5, 19; Tib. II, 3, 57 f.; Mart. IV, 28, 1-3; Isid. *Orig.* XIX, 24, 9; Lucan X, 123-126; Suet. *Nero* 30.

terms were often used loosely. Blümner⁶ has found that *purpureus* in poetry and pathetic prose often has the general signification *red*, and that *puniceus* also may be so used, but that, on the other hand, *coccineus* is generally confined to its special meaning. Religious conservatism prevents this tendency from being very troublesome in our present investigation, though it will be necessary to scrutinize carefully the statements of the later poets.

There can be no doubt that scarlet was used on certain sacerdotal garments and on others worn in the performance of specified duties. The *infulae* worn by priests and victims, and hung upon temples, trees, or other consecrated objects,⁷ were often of white and scarlet.⁸ This seems to have been true in the worship of Bona Dea,⁹ and is probable in that of Vesta, as Jordan¹⁰ and Dragendorff¹¹ have seen. The Flaminica Dialis, however, wore a purple fillet,¹² while "*caeruleae vittae*" were placed on the victims dedicated to certain sea deities,¹³ on altars which were set up to the Manes of Polydorus,¹⁴ and on the animals sacrificed yearly to the Manes of L. Caesar.¹⁵

The distinguishing mark of the Arval Brothers' priesthood was a wreath of grain bound with white fillets.¹⁶ The emphasis placed upon

⁶ Blümner, *Die Rote Farbe im Lateinischen*, Archiv VI, 1889, 401.

⁷ Fest. 113 M, 100 Lindsay: "*Infulae sint filamenta lanea, quibus sacerdotes et hostiae templaque velantur*"; Stat. *Silv.* IV, 4, 92: "*votiferaeque meas suspendit ab arbore vittas*"; IV, 8, 1: "*Pande fores superum vittataque templa Sabaeis | nubibus*"; Appian, *B. C.* II, 108; v. Pley, *Relgesch. Versuche* XI, 1911, 40-43; see 48-79 for full discussion and references.

⁸ Serv. *Aen.* X, 538: "*Infula, fascia in modum diadematis, a qua vittae ab utraque parte dependunt: quae plerumque lata est, plerumque tortilis de albo et cocco*"; cf. Isid. *Orig.* XIX, 30, 4.

⁹ Prop. IV, 9, 27: "*Devia puniceae velabant limina vittae*"; IV, 9, 52: "*Puniceo canas stamine vincta comas*." Doubtless for poetical reasons, only one of the two colors is mentioned.

¹⁰ Jordan, *Der Tempel der Vesta*, p. 49.

¹¹ Dragendorff, *Rh. M.* LI, 1896, p. 286.

¹² Fest. 355 M, 484 L: "*Tutulum vocari aiunt Flaminicarum capitis ornamentum, quod fiat vitta purpurea innexa crinibus et exstructum in altitudinem*."

¹³ Val. Flac. *Arg.* I, 188 ff.

¹⁴ *Aen.* III, 62 ff.

¹⁵ Cenotaphia Pisana, Orelli-Henzen 642 (= Dessau 139).

¹⁶ Pliny, *N. H.* XVIII, 6: "*Arvorum sacerdotes Romulus inprimis instituit . . . spicea corona quae vitta alba colligaretur, sacerdotio ei pro religiosissimo insigni data*"; Gell. VII, (VI), 7, 8: "*Sabinus Masurius in primo memorialium, secutus quosdam historiae scriptores, . . . inquit . . . collegium mansit fratrum arvalium . . . cuius sacerdotii insigne est spicea corona et albae infulae*."

this may seem to support the interpretation of Servius' comment, which has been adopted by certain scholars, that *infulae* were generally white and scarlet, whether they were twisted or not. Yet the fillets of the laurel wreath on Caesar's statue which were so strenuously objected to by the *tribuni plebis* were white.¹⁷ If we could trust references in the poets implicitly, we should have no hesitation in recognizing white as the usual color,¹⁸ but it is possible that in many cases some other color (scarlet?) was combined with it.¹⁹ Very likely the fillets differed as the worship of the particular deity required, white usually being predominant. Bards are represented as wearing either white or purple fillets;²⁰ the brows of the victors in Aeneas' boat-race are bound with scarlet;²¹ the Parcae in Catullus' epyllion wear white or bright red bands on their sacred heads;²² the dancers in the *pompa circensis* were clad in scarlet;²³ but in all these instances Grecian practices, not Roman, were followed, and the descriptions are of no service in the present investigation.

¹⁷ Suet. *Caes.* 79: "cum . . . quidam e turba statuae eius coronam lauream candida fascia praeligata imposuisset, et tribuni plebis . . . coronae fasciam detrahi . . . iussissent"; cf. Appian, *B. C.* II, 108.

¹⁸ a) Ceres: Ov. *Met.* V, 109 f.: "Cererisque sacerdos | Ampycus, albente velatus tempora vitta." Since white garments were especially suited to Ceres (v. Ov. *Fast.* IV, 619 f.; V, 355 f.; *Met.* X, 432; *Her.* IV, 71; Val. Max. I, 1, 15) and her fillets were a distinctive emblem in Tertullian's time (*De Pallio* 4; *De Test. Animae* 2), it is probable that the fillets also were pure white. The similarity of her worship to that of Dea Dia is obvious; Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, p. 74, considers the two identical. b) Apollo: Lucan V, 142 ff.: "Tum torta priores | stringit vitta comas, crinesque in terga solutos | candida Phocaia complectitur infula lauro." This, if taken literally, would indicate that not even twisted fillets were always of two colors; v. Ov. *Met.* XIII, 643; Stat. *Theb.* IV, 217; VI, 330 f. c) Diana: Ov. *Met.* II, 413: "vitta coërcuerat neglectos alba capillos." d) Aesculapius: Ov. *Met.* XV, 676: "evinctus vitta crines albente sacerdos." Isidorus' statement: "infula est fasciola sacerdotalis capitis alba" (*Orig.* XIX, 30, 4) may be based on such passages. e) Cumaean Sibyl: Stat. *Silv.* IV, 3, 114 ff. f) King Syphax: Sil. It. XVI, 241 f. g) Bards, inventors, and good men in general: *Aen.* VI, 660-665; cf. IV, 457 ff.

¹⁹ Note Stat. *Theb.* II, 737 f., of a ceremony in Pallas' honor: "ab arbore casta | nectent purpureas niveo discrimine vittas."

²⁰ Sil. It. XIII, 779 f.: "Effigem—castam, cui vitta ligabat | purpurea effusus per colla nitentia crines"; Stat. *Silv.* VI, 7, 5-11: "ipsi quos penes est honor canendi . . . purpureas novate vittas"; *Achil.* I, 11 (of himself as bard): "nec mea nunc primis albescent tempora vittis" (Klotz reads *augescunt* for *albescent*); cf. *Theb.* III, 466 f.; Verg. *Aen.* VI, 665.

²¹ *Aen.* V, 269: "puniceis ibant evincti tempora taenis."

²² Cat. LXIV, 309: "At roseo niveae residebant vertice vittae." See Ellis' note on this much-discussed line.

²³ Dion. Hal. VII, 72.

One article in the picturesque garb of the Salii was a *trabea* with a purple border and scarlet stripes.²⁴ Its groundwork was perhaps white, like that of the toga, as Helbig suggests.²⁴ Scarlet seems to have been the chief color of their *tunica picta*, but the other colors are unknown.²⁵

Another purple and scarlet *trabea* was worn by the *equites* at their annual *transvectio* (July 15)²⁶ and on all other public occasions.²⁷ Its groundwork was purple, the stripes scarlet.²⁸

Of a third, devoted to the augurs' use, we know only that it combined the same two colors,²⁹ which color formed the groundwork and which the stripes is not stated. Servius' assertion that the flamens of Jupiter and Mars wore the *trabea*³⁰ has justly caused surprise,³¹ as Helbig says, it is so strange that it cannot have been invented. No ancient source mentions the color of this *trabea*, yet it is hardly correct to say that there is no hint that it differed from the color of the toga praetexta.³² In the passage referred to, Servius is commenting upon the attire of King Picus as an augur,³³ and attributes both *ancile* and *trabea* to the augurs and the two flamens named. It is at least possible that he definitely meant the augural *trabea* with its scarlet and purple. How probable this is will be seen later.

²⁴ Dion. Hal. II, 70: *χιτῶνας ποικίλους χαλκαῖς μίτρας κατεΰωσμένοι καὶ τηβέννας ἐμπεπορημένοι περιπορφύρους φοινικοπαρύφους ὡς καλοῦσι τραβέας (ἔστι δ' ἐπιχώριος αὕτη 'Ρωμαῖοις ἐσθῆς ἐν τοῖς πάντιμα);* cf. Marquardt, *Privatleben* II², 507, n. 2, and 545; Helbig, *Sur les attributs des Saliiens*, p. 56.

²⁵ Livy I, 20; Dion. Hal. II, 70; Plut. *Numa* 13: *φοινικοῦς . . . χιτωνίσκους*; Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

²⁶ Val. Max. II, 2, 9; Pers. III, 29; Dion. Hal. VI, 13.

²⁷ Suet. *Domit.* 14; Tac. *Ann.* III, 2; Stat. *Silv.* IV, 2, 32 f.; Mart. V, 35; 23, 1-6 and Friedländer's note; cf. Momm. *Staatsr.* III³, 1, 513 n. 2.

²⁸ Dion. Hal. VI, 13: *πορφυρᾶς φοινικοπαρύφους . . . τηβέννας, τὰς καλουμένας τραβέας*; cf. Helbig, *Hermes*, XXXIX, 1904, p. 178.

²⁹ Serv. *Aen.* VII, 612: "Suetonius in libro de genere vestium dicit tria genera esse trabearum: unum dis sacratum quod est tantum de purpura; aliud regum, quod est purpureum, habet tamen album aliquid; tertium augurale de purpura et cocco"; cf. Serv. *Aen.* VII, 188.

³⁰ Serv. *Aen.* VII, 190: "Ancile et trabea communia sunt [augur] cum Diali vel Martiali sacerdote."

³¹ Momm. *Staatsr.* I³, 429, n. 6; Wissowa, *R. K.*² 499, n. 1; Helbig, *Hermes* XXXIX, 1904, 167.

³² Helbig, *Hermes* XXXIX, 1904, 178.

³³ Cf. Serv. *Aen.* VII, 187, 188; IX, 4.

Other garments were entirely scarlet. If Tertullian is to be credited, devotees of Saturn wore a scarlet cloak.³⁴ The *paludamentum*, worn by the *imperator*, his lictors,³⁵ and even by common soldiers,³⁶ was usually scarlet,³⁷ though it might be *purpureus*, or even white.³⁸

In this connection should be mentioned the *Saliae virgines* who sacrificed "in Regia cum Pontifice paludatas cum apicibus in modum Saliorum."³⁹

As primitive medicine was based upon the idea of possession by evil spirits, it is natural to find articles possessing a religious significance used to help along the cure or as a preventive. Marcellus is constantly prescribing scarlet for such purposes. Where it is employed to cure bloodshot eyes,⁴⁰ or white spots on the eyes,⁴¹ "sympathetic" magic is doubtless the reason, the bright red cloth being supposed to draw to itself the excess of color in the over-charged veins, or to substitute the healthful hue for the unnatural whiteness. It should be noticed that fresh blood is also a part of such charms. In various other cases, however, the use of this particular color is not so easily explained, and a deeper significance must be sought,⁴² especially where it is used as a "blanket prescription."⁴³

³⁴ Tertull. *De Test. Animae* 2: "pallio Saturni coccinata . . . in ipsis denique templis deum iudicem imploras?"; *De Pallio* 4: "cum . . . Galatici ruboris superiectio Saturnum commendat."

³⁵ Cic. *in Pis.* 23, 55; Livy XXXI, 14, 2; XLI, 10, 13; Sil. It. IX, 419 f.; Appian, *Hist. Rom.* VIII, 66; cf. Varro, *L. L.* VII, 37.

³⁶ v. Marquardt, *PrL.* II², 567.

³⁷ Pliny, *N. H.* XXII, 3: "Galatiae, Africae, Lusitaniae, grani coccum imperatoris dicatum paludamentis"; Hor. *Epod.* 9, 27 f. and Porphyrio's comment; Val. Max. V, 1, 6; Sil. It. IV, 517; XVII, 391 ff.; cf. Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 40, 7; Val. Max. V, 1, 7; Lydus, *De Mag.* II, 4.

³⁸ Livy XXX, 17, 13; Hirt., *Bell. Afr.* 57; Val. Max. I, 8, 8; I, 6, 11; Acr. on Hor. *Epod.* 9, 27. The use of gold upon it was of late origin; cf. Suet. *Calig.* XIX, 2. Aurel. Vict. *Epit.* 3 extr.; Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIII, 63; Tac. *Ann.* XII, 56; Cass. Dio LX, 33, 3. The variation of colors accounts for Isid. *Orig.* XIX, 24, 9; "Paludamentum erat insigne pallium imperatorum cocco purpuraque et auro distinctum."

³⁹ Cincius and Aelius Stilo in Festus 329 M, 439 L.

⁴⁰ Marcellus VIII, 135: "Ranam de lacu prendes et spina oculos ei subtiliter erues atque in panno coccineo de licio ligatos oculis interius cruentis superpones, cito medeberis" cf. also VIII, 50-51, VIII; 26.

⁴¹ Marcellus VIII, 129: "Ad albuginem oculorum detergendam efficax hoc remedium: vulpem vivam capies eique linguam praecides ipsamque vivam dimittes, linguam autem eius arefactam phoenicio ligabis et collo eius qui albuginem patietur suspendes."

⁴² Marcellus XV, 89; XII, 25; XXII, 44; XIV, 30; XIV, 25 f.; XIV, 23; XIV, 20; XVI, 11; XXXI, 18; XXVII, 140; XX, 104; XV, 47; XXII, 41; XXXVI, 4.

⁴³ Marcellus, XXV, 33: "Ad nesciam physicum remedium: testudinis aquaticae crus praecide et phoenicio involutum ex ea parte, qua quis nesciam patitur, adpone, potenter remediabitur."

The use of scarlet feathers or cloths in hunting,⁴⁴ or in bull fights,⁴⁵ is probably due to the physico-psychological effect thus produced on the animal, while Vergil's indifferent assignment of purple or scarlet hunting-boots to Diana and to her devotees⁴⁶ indicates only that some shade of red was used. With purely poetical phrases⁴⁷ and the use of brilliant hues by a luxurious⁴⁸ age we are not concerned.

We have, therefore, to consider the significance of scarlet on the *trabeae* worn by the augurs, knights, Salii, and the flamens of Jupiter and Mars, on the *infulae* of the Vestals and the priestess of Bona Dea, on the *paludamentum*, and in medicine; in addition, the reference to the cloak worn by Saturn's worshiper is to be kept in mind.

Of the birds observed in augury, one of the most important was the woodpecker.⁴⁹ It was therefore connected with Jupiter, for the augurs were "interpretes Iovis Optimi Maximi."⁵⁰ Yet it was called "picus Martius,"⁵¹ and was sacred to Mars throughout Central Italy. Tradition said that a little band of Sabines setting out to find a new home had been guided by a woodpecker to the destined land, which for that reason was named Picenum;⁵² at Tiora Matiene, in the territory of the Aequi, there was an ancient oracle of Mars similar to that of Zeus at Dodona, but the prophecies were uttered by a woodpecker perched on a wooden column;⁵³ in the *tabulae Iguvinae* a field is named "Picius Martius," and the woodpecker is one of the augural birds.⁵⁴ The Latins also

⁴⁴ Verg. *Georg.* III, 372 "punicaeve agitant pavidos formidine pinnae"; *Aen.* XII, 750; Sen. *Phaed.* 46 f.

⁴⁵ Ov. *Met.* XII, 102-104: "Haud secus exarsit, quam circo taurus aperto, | cum sua terribili petit inritamina cornu, | poeniceas vestes."

⁴⁶ Verg. *Ecl.* VII, 32; *Aen.* I, 336 f.

⁴⁷ Sil. It. XVI, 354; Mart. XIV, 131, 1 (*coccum* and *coccinus* used for *russeus* of the circus-faction); *Ciris*, 500 f. (*puniceus* used for the usual *purpureus*); Apul. *Met.* 3, 1; Verg. *Aen.* XII, 76, etc.

⁴⁸ Mart. II, 39; IV, 28, 1-3; I, 96, 4 ff.; X, 76, 9; II, 29, 7 f., and Friedländer's note; Juv. III, 283. This includes the adoption of scarlet by the Roman emperors; cf. Suet. *Nero*, 30, 3; *Domit.* 4, 2; Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 40, 11.

⁴⁹ Pliny, *N. H.* X, 40-41: "Sunt et parvae aves uncorum unguium, ut pici Martio cognomine insignes et in auspiciis magni. . . . Ipsi principales Latio sunt in auguriis a rege qui nomen huic avi dedit"; cf. Festus 197 and 246 M.; Isid. *Orig.* XII, 47.

⁵⁰ Cic. *De Leg.* II, 20; III, 43; *Phil.* XIII, 12; *Arnob.* IV, 35; cf. Aust, *Religion der Römer*, 1899, p. 121.

⁵¹ E. g., Varro, *De Vit. Pop. Rom.* III (in Nonius 518 M.); Pliny, *N. H.* XI, 122; XXV, 29; Serv. *Aen.* VII, 190.

⁵² Strabo V, 4, 2; Paul. 212 M., 235 L.

⁵³ Dion. Hal. I, 14, 5.

⁵⁴ Buecheler, *Umbrica*, pp. 37, 42 ff.

revered the sacred bird.⁵⁵ It helped the wolf nourish Romulus and Remus, Mars' children,⁵⁶ and possessed certain other unusual qualities.⁵⁷

It is not strange, then, that from this prophetic bird, connected with both Jupiter and Mars, and endowed with magical powers, there developed the idea of a deity, and later that of a king.⁵⁸ This deity was sometimes worshipped under the name of Picumnus, and, with his brother Pilumnus, watched over new-born children⁵⁹ and certain processes of agriculture.⁵⁹ In this latter connection his father is Sterces (Stercutus), identified with Saturn.⁶⁰ The better-known legends call him Picus, the son of Saturn,⁶¹ and the father of Faunus,⁶¹ the oracular wood-deity.⁶² Sometimes he is apparently identified with Mars.⁶³ Ovid⁶⁴ names Picus and Faunus "di nemorum," a title readily ascribed to Picus because of the forest life of the woodpecker.

As one of the early kings of Latium his wife was Pomona,⁶⁵ Canens, the daughter of Janus,⁶⁶ or even Circe,⁶⁷ who changed the royal youth into a woodpecker. Ovid⁶⁸ gives the details of the transformation delightfully: the youth, hunting with a band of friends, was seen and

⁵⁵ Plut. *Q. R.* 21.

⁵⁶ See Fabius Pictor in Nonius 518 M. (cf. Peter, *Hist. Rom. Frag.* p. 75, 11. 15-16); Ov. *Fast.* III, 37 f.; Plut. *De Fort. Rom.* VIII, 320 D.

⁵⁷ Plaut. *Aul.* 701 f. (cf. Non. 152 M.); Pliny, *N. H.* X, 40-41; Isid. *Orig.* XII, 47; Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Myth.* 337.

⁵⁸ See Carter in Roscher, *Lex.* III², 2494-2496.

⁵⁹ Non. 518 M.: "Picumnus et avis est Marti dicata, quam picum vel picam vocant, et deus qui sacris Romanis adhibetur;" Interpol. Serv. *Aen.* X, 76: "Varro Pilumnus et Pitumnus infantium deos esse ait eisque pro puerpera lectum in atrio sterna, dum exploretur an vitalis sit qui natus est. Piso Pilumnus dictum quia pellat mala infantiae, sed Pilumnus idem Stercutius, ut quidam dicunt, qui propter pilum inventum, quo fruges confici solent, ita appellatus est;" Serv. *Aen.* IX, 4: "Pilumnus et Pitumnus fratres fuerunt dii. Horum Pitumnus usum stercorandorum invenit agrorum . . . unde et Sterculinius dictus est . . . Pilumnus vero pinsendi frumenti; unde et a pistoribus deus coliter . . . Varro coniugales deos suspicatur."

⁶⁰ Macrob. *Sat.* I, 7, 25; Varro in Aug. *C. D.* XVIII, 15; Isid. *Orig.* XVII, 1, 3.

⁶¹ *Aen.* VII, 48 f.; Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* II, 71; Festus 246 M.; Lactant. *Inst.* I, 22, 9; Aug. *C. D.* XVIII, 15; Sil. It. VIII, 439 ff.

⁶² Prob. on Verg. *Georg.* I, 10; *Aen.* VII, 81 ff.; Ov. *Fast.* IV, 649 ff.; Calp. *Ecl.* I, 8 ff. See W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 81.

⁶³ Appian, *De Reg.* I, 1; Dion. Hal. I, 31; cf. Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Myth.* I, p. 379.

⁶⁴ Ov. *Fast.* III, 297.

⁶⁵ Serv. *Aen.* VII, 190.

⁶⁶ Ov. *Met.* XIV, 333 ff.

⁶⁷ *Aen.* VII, 189 ff.; Val. Flac. *Arg.* VII, 232. This is consistent with *Aen.* XII, 161 ff., in which the Sun is Latinus' ancestor.

⁶⁸ Ov. *Met.* XIV, 320 ff. Briefer accounts are found in other authors.

loved by the sorceress; enticing him away from his companions, she revealed herself to him, and when her passion was scorned, she took her characteristic revenge; his scarlet chlamys⁶⁹ was turned into brilliant plumage, and the gold fibula which had fastened it became the yellow feathers around his neck.

But the most famous account of King Picus is that given in the seventh book of the *Aeneid*.⁷⁰ Vergil is describing the ancestral palace of King Latinus, "Laurentis regia Pici." Within it were statues of the early Italian monarchs, including Janus and Saturn. Prominent among them was a seated image of Picus, "equum domitor," first ruler of the Laurentines, and grandfather of Latinus. He was clad in the *trabea*, held the *lituus* *Quirinalis*, and carried an *ancile* upon his left arm. Servius interprets this costume as that of the augur, basing his identification upon the *lituus*⁷¹ and the fact that the other kings were represented standing, whereas Picus, well known as an augur,⁷¹ kept the position suitable for that official.⁷² Certainly the woodpecker, of scarlet plumage, employed in augury, endowed with magical powers, might well become an augur and wear the augur's *trabea* of scarlet and purple.⁷³ It is, of course, possible that the *trabea* meant was the royal cloak, purple with narrow white stripes,⁷⁴ and that the shield indicated

⁶⁹ Cf. *Ov. Met.* XIV, 345: "poeniceam fulvo chlamydem contractus ab auro" with l. 393: "purpureum chlamydis pennae traxere colorem." In the latter line *purpureus* may easily have the general meaning *red*, as it often does (cf. Blümner, *Archiv* VI, 1889, 401). McCrea's comment on Nisus' "purpureus crinis" (*Ovid's Use of Colour and of Colour-Terms in Classical Studies in Honor of Henry Drisler*, p. 193) indicates that the adjective might convey an idea of brightness, while his evidence that *puniceas* here means *crimson* (p. 185) is not convincing. Woodpeckers "are generally of bright parti-coloured plumage, in which black, white, brown, olive, green, yellow, orange or scarlet . . . appear" (*Encycl. Brit.* XXVIII, p. 802); we would, therefore, expect the young huntsman of the legend to wear a scarlet rather than a crimson cloak.

⁷⁰ *Aen.* VII, 170-191.

⁷¹ Serv. *Aen.* VII, 190: "augur fuit et domi habuit picum, per quem futura noscebat; quod pontificales indicant libri. Bene autem supra ei lituum dedit, quod est augurum proprium; nam ancile et trabea communia sunt Diali vel Martiali sacerdote; Aug. *C. D.* XVIII, 15; cf. Cic. *De Div.* I, 17, 30: "Lituus iste vester, quod clarissimum est insigne auguratus; cf. I, 48, 107; II, 38, 80; Livy, I, 6, 4; Apul. *Apol.* 22; Serv. *Aen.* VII, 187.

⁷² Serv. *Aen.* IX, 4: "secundum augures 'sedere' est augurium captare; namque post designatas caeli partes a sedentibus captantur auguria: quod et supra ipse ostendit latenter, inducens Picum solum sedentem, ut [VII, 187] 'parvaeque sedebat succinctus trabea,' quod est augurum, cum alios stantes induxerit."

⁷³ Serv. *Aen.* VII, 188: "toga est augurum de cocco et purpura;" cf. Serv. *Aen.* VII, 612.

⁷⁴ Serv. *Aen.* VII, 612, "aliud [genus trabearum] regum, quod est purpureum, habet tamen album aliquid; v. Helbig, *Hermes* XXXIX, 1904, 176.

warlike characteristics, "so dass er also wie alle alten Könige zugleich als Augur und als Krieger gedacht wurde,"⁷⁵ but there seems no good reason for rejecting Servius' explanation, when we cannot prove that it is wrong and when there is so much in its favor.

We have seen that Picus is bird, deity, and king; that he is closely connected with Mars and Jupiter, and, as deity and king, with Saturn. Helbig⁷⁶ has shown the probability of Mycenaean influence upon the peoples of central Italy. In this connection the identification of Picus with the Cretan Zeus is interesting; in relation to our investigation it is significant. Both Suidas⁷⁷ and Diodorus Siculus,⁷⁸ with minor differences, relate that Picus, or Zeus, ruled over Italy; that dying he left the empire to his son and asked that he be interred in Crete; this was done and an epitaph erected stating that Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς was buried there. Malalas⁷⁹ attributes to Bruttius the story that ὁ αὐτὸς Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς wooed Danaë. Creuzer⁸⁰ quotes from Nicetas (*Epithet. Deor.* Meletem. I, p. 18) the adjectives ἥπιος πῖκος as applied to Jupiter, and sees a close connection between the Jupiter Elicius story⁸¹ and the Cretan myth. He says, "Der Blitz ist hier in diesen Mythen personificirt. Als schreckend und verderbend ist Juppiter der Scharfe and Strenge; als befruchtend und segnend Völkerhirt und sanfter König.⁸² Hat der Schrecken des Blitzes und Donners nachgelassen, so ist der Verderber todt. Das ist der sterbende Picus, der in Creta begraben ist." Although this explanation is partially based on the untrustworthy story of Valerius Antias, it is evident that Picus was sometimes identified with the lightning god in Greek tradition, and we have seen that the wood-

⁷⁵ Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Myth.* I, 377.

⁷⁶ Helbig, *Sur les Attributs des Saliens*; cf. especially p. 31: "Nous possédons toute une série de faits attestant que, pendant la période précédant la fondation des premières colonies grecques dans les pays occidentaux, les peuples de l'Italie centrale subirent l'influence de la civilisation mycénienne." Compare Varro in Aug. *C. D.* XVIII, 15: "Per ea tempora regnum finitum est Argivorum translatum ad Mycenae, unde fuit Agamemnon, et exortum est regnum Laurentum, ubi Saturni filius Picus regnum primus accepit."

⁷⁷ Suidas: Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς . . . He adds: μέμνηται τοῦ τάφου τοῦτου πλείστοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳι συγγράμμασι.

⁷⁸ Diod. Sic. VI, 5, *Excerpta ex Ioannis Chronicis*. Cramer thinks this Ioannes is Malalas.

⁷⁹ Peter, *Hist. Rom. Frag.* 375, 25-27.

⁸⁰ Creuzer, *Symbolik* IV³, 364 ff.; cf. A. B. Cook, *Cl. R.* XVII, 1903, 412.

⁸¹ Ov., *Fast.* III, 285-398.

⁸² Not only Saturn but also his descendants ruled mildly over their people; cf. Probus on Verg. *Georg.* I, 10; *Aen.* VII, 45 f.

pecker was closely connected with him in Italian ideas. It seems probable that this story of the Cretan Zeus ruling as king of Italy arose from the confusion of Zeus with Jupiter.⁸³ In that case the identification of Picus with Zeus may point to an early connection of Picus with Jupiter. We may recall also that Picus, like Jupiter, is the son of Saturn. Kuhn⁸⁴ has shown conclusively that he is a lightning-bird, fire-bringer, and soul-bringer, and even considers the possibility of his symbolizing the lightning itself.

The Romans never officially adopted the Etruscan belief in nine deities who hurled the thunderbolt,⁸⁵ but ascribed that power to the Sky-god alone,⁸⁶—for Summanus who sent lightning by night⁸⁷ was only “a nocturnal Jupiter.”⁸⁸ In very early times, however, like other primitive peoples, they regarded each separate flash as a god, and the anthropomorphic idea developed gradually. Aust⁸⁹ and Wissowa⁹⁰ have traced its growth as shown by inscriptions and literature. At first no name was attached to the miraculous flash, but the place struck was set apart and the inscription “fulgur dium,”⁹¹ or “fulgur divom conditum” was

⁸³ Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* IV, 14 and 25; Firm. Mat. VI, I; XVII, 1; Commodianus, *Instr.* 1, 6, 16; 1, 5, 1.

⁸⁴ Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertrankes* ed. 1886; cf. especially pp. 30-31, 92-93, 224-226. To the reference Pliny, *N. H.* X, 36, may be added Julius Obsequens 40, (100) and 51 (111): “Ser. Galba M. Scauro consulibus avis incendiaria et bubo in urbe visae . . . C. Caelio L. Domitio consulibus . . . avis incendiaria visa occisaque.” Compare the eagle as lightning-bird, Kuhn, pp. 29, 155 ff.; Usener, *Rh. M.* LX, 1905, 24 f.; Manilius V, 487-490, 501-504; Julius Obsequens 66 (126).

⁸⁵ Pliny, *N. H.* II, 138: “Tuscorum litterae novem deos emittere fulmina existimant . . . Romani duo tantum ex iis servavere, diurna attribuentes Iovi, nocturna Summano.” Cf. Müller, *Die Etrusker* II, p. 168; Thulin, *Die Etruskische Disciplin* I, 32 ff.

⁸⁶ Serv. *Aen.* I, 42: “antiqui Iovis solius putaverunt esse fulmen.” For explanation of apparent contradiction cf. Thulin, *op. cit.* I, 23.

⁸⁷ Pliny, *N. H.* II, 138; Aug. *C. D.* IV, 23; Festus 229 M, 254 L.

⁸⁸ Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, 160; Thulin, *op. cit.* I, 23 and 35.

⁸⁹ Roscher, *Lex.* II, 1, 656.

⁹⁰ Wissowa, *R. K.*², 121 f.

⁹¹ Dessau 3054, 3055, 3053, 3051; C. I. L. I², p. 331; VI, 206, 30877; III, 3953. Paul. 92 M., 82 L.: “Fulguratum, id quod est fulmine ictum, qui locus statim fieri putabatur religiosus, quod eum deus sibi dicasse videretur”; Fest. 229 M., 254 L.: “Provorsum fulgur appellatur quod ignorabatur noctu an interdiu sit factum. Itaque Iovi Fulguri et Summano fit, quod diurna Iovis, nocturna Summani fulgura habentur.” Vitruv. I, 2, 5: “cum Iovi Fulguri et Caelo et Soli et Lunae aedificia subdiu hypaethraque constituerentur.” For a complete list of inscriptions and for literature cf. Aust, *op. cit.* and Wissowa, *op. cit.*

erected. Then the dedication was made to "Iuppiter Fulgur," or "Fulmen," and later still, when the lightning had become only one of the attributes of the Sky-god, to Jupiter "Fulgerator" (sic), or "Fulminator." A temple in the Campus Martius was dedicated to "Iuppiter Fulgur," and a festival in his honor was held yearly on October seventh, but of the ceremonies observed and the priests who conducted them we know nothing.⁹² Quite as limited is our knowledge of "Iuppiter Pistor," in whom Preller⁹³ and Wissowa⁹⁴ see another form of the lightning-god.

The rites for the expiation of thunderbolts seem to have been at first under the control of the pontifices;⁹⁵ later these duties were shared by the Etruscan haruspices and the decemviri. Special priests called *struferarii* attended to the necessary rites when trees had been struck by lightning. Unfortunately, no information, as far as I know, has come down to us regarding the religious dress worn by any of these officials.

But the interpretation of lightning as a revelation of the will of Jupiter was in the hands of the augurs. Indeed, the thunderbolt was the principal one of the five classes⁹⁶ of signs which the augurs must interpret. It could invalidate the other signs, but was not invalidated by them;⁹⁷ it alone could break up a meeting of the *comitia*⁹⁸—a survival of the period when every thunderbolt was an evil omen;⁹⁹ if it came from the left, it was of the best possible significance, except for the *comitia*.⁹⁸

We have seen that the augurs wore a special kind of cloak which combined two colors—scarlet and dark red. There can be no doubt that these were connected with definite religious ideas. Since observing the lightning formed a prominent part of the augural tasks, some portion of the regalia worn would naturally show consecration to the god of the lightning. And what is better fitted for this purpose than scarlet?

⁹² W. Warde Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, p. 239.

⁹³ Preller, *Röm. Myth.* I, 194.

⁹⁴ Wissowa, *l. c.*

⁹⁵ Thulin in Pauly-Wiss. VII, 2446 ff.

⁹⁶ Fest. 261 M, 316 L. (Paul. 260 M, 317 L.): "Quinque genera signorum observant augures publici, ex caelo, ex avibus, ex tripudiis, ex quadripedibus, ex diris, ut est in Auguralibus."

⁹⁷ Sen. *N. Q.* II, 34: "Summam esse vim fulminis iudicant, quia quicquid alia portendunt, interventus fulminis tollit, quicquid ab hoc portenditur, fixum est nec alterius ostenti significatione mutatur. Quicquid exta quicquid aves minabuntur, secundo fulmine abolebitur. Quicquid fulmine denuntiatum est, nec extis nec ave contraria refellitur."

⁹⁸ Cic. *De Div.* II, 42-43; 74.

⁹⁹ Thulin, *E. D.* I, p. 85; Wissowa, *R. K.*,² p. 533.

The inter-relation of lightning, fire and the color red is easily recognized. Among very primitive peoples there is little or no separation of a color into different hues, and even modern investigators are apt to disregard the possibility of such distinctions. It is most necessary, therefore, to proceed cautiously in connecting a certain shade with a definite object and to keep in mind "the obvious fact that there is much in nature round about man that is red in color."¹⁰⁰ There is significance, however, in the fact that in the Atharva-Veda lightning is called a red bull,¹⁰¹ that Thor is red-bearded, "was auf die feurige Lufterscheinung des Blitzes bezogen werden muss," and that when angry he blows in his red beard and "thunder peals through the clouds."¹⁰² Kuhn has shown the close relation between heavenly and earthly fire,¹⁰³ and has called attention to the red legs of the stork, another fire and lightning bird, and to similar characteristics of other creatures connected with fire.¹⁰⁴ Thus, if the nest of the red-breasted robin is disturbed, a storm breaks upon the offender's house.¹⁰⁵ The nest of the redstart attracts lightning.¹⁰⁵ Among the Germans fire is called "the red hen," and "I will set a red hen on your roof" is an incendiary threat.¹⁰⁶

Elsewhere the same color is a protection against fire and lightning. Frazer¹⁰⁷ tells us of an English belief: "Certain it is that no fire will break out in a house where a crossbill is kept in a cage, neither will lightning strike the dwelling; and this immunity can only be ascribed to the protective coloring of the bird, the red hue of its plumage serving to ward off the red lightning and to nip a red conflagration in the bud."

A statement in a recent newspaper¹⁰⁸ illustrates this tendency to connect bright-hued, flying creatures with the bright-red, flying objects of destruction: "The country folk call the scarlet tanager the fire-bird. His feathers set the woods on fire." If such a figure of speech is natural in our civilized modern life, it is to be expected that primitive peoples would believe in the reality of the connection.

¹⁰⁰ Bloomfield, *The Symbolic Gods in Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve*, p. 42.

¹⁰¹ Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, p. 7, I, 12.

¹⁰² Grimm, *D. M.* I⁴, 147.

¹⁰³ Kuhn, *op. cit.*, especially p. 17.

¹⁰⁴ Kuhn, *op. cit.*, 94 f.

¹⁰⁵ Grimm, *D. M.* II⁴, 569.

¹⁰⁶ Grimm, *D. M.* II⁴, 558; I⁴, 500.

¹⁰⁷ Frazer, *G. B.*, *The Magic Art* I³, 82.

¹⁰⁸ Editorial in *The Chicago Evening Post*, July 31, 1916.

Kuhn also considers the reddish bark of the oak significant, and points out that the Romans were impressed by its color;¹⁰⁹ for this he quotes Paulus: "Robum rubro colore et quasi rufo significari, ut bovem quoque rustici appellant, manifestum est. Unde et materia, quae plurimas venas eius coloris habet, dicta est robur."¹¹⁰ That this tree was held sacred to the supreme deity of various nations and that its wood was especially used for producing fire by friction is well known.¹¹¹

The same scholar¹¹² has collected instances in which a red cloth represents fire; upon this a woodpecker or other fire-bringing bird drops the magic herb (lightning) in order to restore it to its element. He also records the Roman custom of covering a millstone with a red cloth as a charm against hail.¹¹³

Ceremonial trappings and garments of scarlet were used by the Persian fire worshippers. Xenophon¹¹⁴ describes a procession in the time of Cyrus the Elder; following the white chariots of the Supreme Deity and the Sun came a third chariot, drawn by horses covered with scarlet cloths; behind this came the holy fire, carried on a great altar. Curtius¹¹⁵ gives an account of a similar procession which took place two centuries later. This time, the eternal fire was followed by 365 youths wearing scarlet cloaks.

In China one of the oldest, best-known and most popular deities is the "Küchengott" or "Herdfürst." "Er ist in helles Rot gekleidet, welches dem Feuer gleicht . . . Daraus geht hervor dass die alten chinesischen Küchengötter mit den Geistern des Feuers identisch sind." To represent this divinity many families use only paper with red or yellow stripes.¹¹⁶

To return to Rome. Under Etruscan influence the *manubiae* of Jove were distinguished from those of other gods by being "rubrae et

¹⁰⁹ Kuhn, *op. cit.* 44 ff.; cf. p. 170.

¹¹⁰ Paul. 264 M., 325 L.

¹¹¹ See Frazer, *G. B.*³ II, 372.

¹¹² Kuhn, *op. cit.* 188-190.

¹¹³ Palladius, *De Re Rust.* I, 35: "Contra grandinem multa dicuntur. Panno russeo (variant roseo) mola cooperitur."

¹¹⁴ Xen. *Cyr.* VIII, 3, 12: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄλλο τρίτον ἄρμα ἐξήγετο, φοινικίσι καταπεπταμένοι οἱ ἵπποι, καὶ πῦρ ὅπισθεν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχάρας μεγάλης ἄνδρες εἵποντο φέροντες.

¹¹⁵ Curt. *De Gestis Alex.* III, 7, 9 f.: "Ordo autem agminis erat talis. Ignis quem ipsi sacrum et aeternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus praeferebatur. Magi proximi patrium carmen caneant. Magos trecenti et sexaginta quinque iuvenes sequebantur, punicis amiculis velati, diebus totius anni pares numero."

¹¹⁶ A. Nagel, *Arch. Rel.* XI, 1908, 23-24; 30. In Maeterlinck's "*Bluebird*," the Spirit of Fire is garbed in red and yellow.

sanguineae," and Horace could speak of him as hurling a thunderbolt "rubente dextera."¹¹⁷ *Ruber* (*rubens*) is a general term,¹¹⁸ but may be used of a brilliant red, as is indicated by such expressions as "rubro cocco tincta . . . vestis,"¹¹⁹ and "rubentem, in cocco."¹²⁰ *Sanguineus* is used for objects whose red color is especially beautiful or intense.¹²¹ Similar epithets were applied to lightning by other poets. Ovid writes: "Ecce deum genitor rutilas per nubila flammās spargit,"¹²² and again: "rutilo missi fulminis igne cremer."¹²³ Valerius Flaccus speaks of *rutili* - *fulminis* and *fulminis rutilas* - *alas*,¹²⁴ Claudian of *rubri* - *fulminis alas*.¹²⁵ The thunderbolts of Mars, resembling those of Jupiter, were called *rutili ignis*.¹²⁶ The adjective *cremantia*, applied to them by Pliny,¹²⁷ refers to their effect, not their color. It may be noted that though Jupiter's jewel is *candida*,¹²⁸ his star *clarus*,¹²⁹ and his shrub endowed with *argenteo folio*,¹³⁰ as benefits the God of Day, his flower has ruddy tendrils¹³¹ and is called *flamma Iovis*.

Elsewhere we find scarlet compared with fire or the flaming rays of the sun. Lucan¹³² speaks of coverlets that are "fiery with scarlet." Martianus Capella represents Pallas as clad in garments "flammarum instar e cocco,"¹³³ and the Sun as wearing a scarlet *pallium* on his

¹¹⁷ Hor. *Od.* I, 2, 1-4, and Pseud. Acro. Thulin, *op. cit.*, I, 51, n. 1, compares Pindar, *Ol.* IX, 6, Δία τὲ φοινικοστερβαν.

¹¹⁸ Blümner, *Archiv*, VI, 1889, 400.

¹¹⁹ Hor. *Sat.* II, 6, 102 f.

¹²⁰ Pliny, *N. H.* XXI, 45.

¹²¹ Blümner, *op. cit.* 401.

¹²² Ov. *Fast.* III, 285; cf. Gell. II, 26, 9; "Nam 'poeniceus,' quem tu Graece *ποινικα* dixisti, noster est et 'rutilus' et 'spadix,' poenicei συνώνυμος, . . . exuberantiam splendoremque significant ruboris," and see Blümner, *op. cit.*, 415.

¹²³ Ov. *Her.* III, 64.

¹²⁴ Val. Flac. VII, 647; VI, 56. *Rutilus* indicates a gleaming, fiery red; cf. Blümner, *op. cit.* 400, 415.

¹²⁵ Claudian, *Rapt. Proserp.* II, 229.

¹²⁶ Serv. *Aen.* VIII, 429.

¹²⁷ Pliny, *N. H.* II, 139.

¹²⁸ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXVII, 170.

¹²⁹ Pliny, *N. H.* II, 79.

¹³⁰ Pliny, *N. H.* XVI, 76.

¹³¹ Pliny, *N. H.* XXVII, 44; "Ampelos agria vocatur herba . . . viticulis longis, callosis, rubentibus, qualiter flos quem Iovis flammam appellemus." cf. XXI, 59, 67.

¹³² Lucan X, 125: "Pars auro plumata nitet, pars ignea cocco."

¹³³ Mart. Capell. I, 7; cf. I, 40: "peplo quod rutilum circum caput gestabat." Pallas is believed to be a lightning-goddess, as Minerva was among the Etruscans; cf. Kuhn, *op. cit.* 17, 29; Roscher, *Lex.* I-1, 675 ff.; cf. Jacobstahl, *Der Blitz*, 16, 20; cf. also Mart. Capell. I, 14: "rubroque igne rutilantes," and "flammis coruscantibus rutilans."

flaming body.¹³⁴ The Sun's statue is described in an Orphic poem quoted by Macrobius as arrayed in a scarlet robe resembling flaming rays, like fire.¹³⁵ Helios-Mithras wears a similar mantle, and has a fiery crown upon his fire-like locks.¹³⁶ It is evident that bright red—that is, scarlet—was considered appropriate for earthly and heavenly fire. Naturally, then, the lightning-bringer with scarlet plumage was the principal bird of augury, and scarlet was one of the colors on the augur's *trabea*. If it is permissible to extend Wissowa's suggestion that this cloak was worn only in performing certain official duties,¹³⁷ we may think of the augurs as assuming it when they watched the sky for signs given by lightning or the prophetic birds.

Without entering into the vexed question as to whether the *trabea* was originally a war-cloak, a garb of honor in both peace and war, or a religious dress,¹³⁸ attention may be called to the fact that religion was not divorced from war. The opening of the temple of Janus and the throwing of the spear by the *fetialis* had both a religious and a military significance, while the auspices must be taken before war could be entered upon.¹³⁹ During battle the gods might be appealed to for aid,¹⁴⁰ while after victory trophies were erected to Mars,¹⁴¹ and the triumphing general paid his vows to Jupiter. It would not be strange, therefore, to find the invincible weapons of their Sky-god, thunder and lightning, symbolized in the equipment of the soldiers. The interpretation of

¹³⁴ Mart. Capell. I, 76; cf. I, 29: "pallio rutilante. . . Sol repente clarus emicuit," and I, 13: "Solis augustum caput radiis perfusum circumactumque flammantibus velut auratam caesariem rutili verticis imitatur."

¹³⁵ Macrobi. *Sat.* I, 18, 22: πρῶτα μὲν οὖν φλογέαις ἐναλίγκιον ἀκτίνεσσιν | πέπλον φοινίκεον πυρὶ εἶκελον ἀμφιβαλέσθαι.

¹³⁶ Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, p. 10: ὅψει θεὸν νεώτερον εὐειδῆ πυρινότριχα ἐν χιτῶνι λευκῷ καὶ χλαμύδι κοκκίνῳ, ἔχοντα πύρινον στέφανον . . . "Ἡλιε ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, θέε θεῶν"; f. pp. 67-68. The idea of Apollo and the Sun-god may have been present to Valerius Flaccus (I, 384 f.) when he described the priest Mopsus: "puniceo cui circumfusa cothurno | palla imos ferit alba pedes," but it is not safe to lay stress upon such a passage in poetry of that period and type.

¹³⁷ Pauly-Wiss. II, 2322.

¹³⁸ For the different views see Momm. *Staatsr.* I³, 429 f., Helbig, *Hermes* XXXIX, 1904, 161-181; Samter. *Phil. N. F.* X, 1897, 394-398.

¹³⁹ Cic. *De Leg.* II, 21; *De Div.* II, 76; cf. *N.D.* II, 7-9.

¹⁴⁰ Romulus' appeal to Jupiter (Livy I, 12); the *devotio* of the Decii (Livy VIII, 9; X, 28).

¹⁴¹ The *spolia opima* were dedicated to Juppiter Feretius, Mars, and Quirinus, the usual trophies to Mars; cf. Cook, *Cl. R.* XVIII, 1904, 364, 368, 372 f.; *Folk Lore* XVI, 1905, 320.

the spear as lightning hurled against the enemy¹⁴² is very probable. Jacobstahl notes many instances of the lightning-symbol engraved on shields; of the same symbol on Italian vases he remarks: "Einst wohl apotropaeisch auf irgendein Waffenstücke aufgeklebt."¹⁴³ The same emblem was often stamped on sling-stones.¹⁴⁴ A. B. Cook reminds us that the standard of the legion (the eagle on a staff) was worshiped by the soldiery "because it symbolized Jupiter," and adds: "The thunderbolt on the shields of the legionaries and on the lead bullets of the slingers was likewise a token that the whole fighting force was under the command and protection of Jupiter."¹⁴⁵ Surely the scarlet stripes on the *trabea* of knights and Salii had a similar meaning. Why the two cloaks differed in other respects (that of the knights had a purple ground, that of the Salii a white ground and a purple border) is uncertain, but we may conjecture that since the nucleus of the army was originally composed of patrician infantry,¹⁴⁶ the cloak worn was that later sacred to the Salii, and that the cavalry, when formed,¹⁴⁶ was given the same mantle with the colors differently arranged. These red cloaks may account for Varro's *russae alae*¹⁴⁷ and for Isidorus' attempt to make *russatus* equivalent to *coccineus*.¹⁴⁸ If, as seems probable, the *paludamentum* was the descendant and successor of the *trabea*,¹⁴⁹ it is

¹⁴² Kuhn, *op. cit.* 199 f.

¹⁴³ Jacobstahl, *op. cit.*; cf. index under *Blitz* and footnote to p. 38. Were shields considered a variety of thunderstone? Pliny (*N. H.* XXXVII, 135), following Sotacus, says that black, round *baetuli* were sacred: "urbes per illas expugnari et classes." The *ancile*, which was the early warrior-shield (Helbig, *Sur les attributs*, p. 59.), fell from heaven. It "recalls the sky-fallen baetylic stone" (Evans, *J. H. S.* XXI, 1901, 180). In its model, the Mycenaean shield, Evans sees a special attribute of the Cretan warrior god who is perhaps to be identified with the later Cretan Zeus (Evans, *op. cit.* 122-30; 179-181).

¹⁴⁴ Blinkenberg, *The Thunder-Weapon in Religion and Folk-Lore*, p. 38, n. 1; Pauly-Wiss. II, 317.

¹⁴⁵ A. B. Cook, *Folk-Lore* XVI, 1905, 319.

¹⁴⁶ Helbig, *Sur les attributs*, p. 61 (where see references); p. 71.

¹⁴⁷ Varro, *Sat. Menipp.*, p. 137, 1. 2, Riese: "Tela dextra vibrant russ[ae]que alae micant."

¹⁴⁸ Isid. *Orig.* XIX, 22, 10: "Russata, quam Graeci phoeniceam vocant, nos coccinam, repertam a Lacedaemoniis ad celandum coloris similitudine sanguinem quotiens quis in acie vulneretur, ne contemplanti adversario animus augesceret. Hanc sub consulibus Romani usi sunt milites; unde etiam russati vocabantur." Cf. Com. Cruq. on Hor. *Epod.* IX, 27: "Romani enim milites in bellum euntes coccineis sagis utebantur, ut ne quis vulneratus, cruoreque suo respersus, terrorem incuteret sociis, nam coccineus color cruori similis est." The rationalistic explanations of both writers are of course the efforts of late periods.

¹⁴⁹ Mommsen, *Staatsr.* I³, 431.

easy to account for the fact that, though usually scarlet, it might be *purpureus* or white. The original reason for the choice of colors was by that time quite forgotten, but Roman conservatism forbade that they be disregarded.

It would seem fitting, if scarlet represents lightning, for the warriors' crests to be of that hue, but of this we cannot be certain, as the adjective most commonly applied to them is *ruber*;¹⁵⁰ once *purpureus*¹⁵¹ is used, but the context here implies brightness and consequently a figurative use of the term. *Rutilus*¹⁵² and *sanguineus*¹⁵³ point to a brilliant red, as does the flame streaming from Aeneas' crest.¹⁵⁴ There is, therefore, nothing to prove that scarlet was not the color employed.

If Cook's theory that Mars, Quirinus, and Jupiter were originally different forms of the same god¹⁵⁵ is correct, the symbolic use of lightning as both defensive and offensive in war is most natural, and scarlet very properly finds its place in their worship. Cook's arguments, briefly stated, are: that the Salii were "in tutela Iovis, Martis, Quirini";¹⁵⁶ that *spolia opima* were dedicated to Juppiter Feretrius, Mars, and Quirinus; that the first treaty with Carthage was made in the name of Juppiter Lapis, the last in the name of Mars and Quirinus; that the *devotio* formula named the three jointly; that the oak was sacred to Jupiter and Mars, both of whom were called Quirinus and Loucetius; that all three were symbolized by a staff or spear and were called *pater*; that the gods recognized by Romulus were Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Picus, Faunus, etc.; but by Numa Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, Vesta, and that all these were connected with the oak-cult at Rome; that kings and emperors were connected with Jupiter, Mars, or Quirinus; that Picus Martius was regularly associated with the oak and was connected with Jupiter in the Numa legend.

To these points it may be permitted to add that Picus Martius was identified with the Cretan Zeus and observed by the augurs, who were

¹⁵⁰ *Aen.* IX, 50, 270, XII, 89; *Sil. It.* XVII, 279, 393.

¹⁵¹ *Aen.* IX, 163: "purpurei cristis iuvenes auroque corusci."

¹⁵² Claud. *Panegy. de Quarl. Cons. Hon.* 524; *Carm. Min.* 29, 50; cf. *Gell.* II, 26, 9.

¹⁵³ *Aen.* IX, 732 f.

¹⁵⁴ *Aen.* X, 270 ff.: "Ardet apex capiti, cristisque a vertice flamma | funditur et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignis; | non secus ac liquida siquando nocte cometæ | sanguinei lugubre rubent aut Sirius ardor."

¹⁵⁵ A. B. Cook, *Cl. R.* XVIII, 1904, 372 ff.; *Folk-Lore* XVI, 1905, 320 f.; cf. *Cl. R. l. c.*, p. 374: "Mars as a specialized form of Jupiter had probably arisen before the Italians entered Italy."

¹⁵⁶ *Serv. Aen.* VIII, 663.

"interpretes Iovis Optimi Maximi";¹⁵⁷ that the Salii and the three great flamens all wore the *apex*; that the *ancile*¹⁵⁸ was common to the Salii, the augurs and the flamens of Jupiter and Mars; that a *trabea* with scarlet and purple colors was worn by the Salii, the *equites* during their *transvectio* from Mars' temple, the augurs, and perhaps the flamens of Jupiter and Mars;¹⁵⁹ that the *lituus*, or augural wand, of Romulus was kept in the curia Saliorum on the Palatine.¹⁶⁰

Wissowa¹⁶¹ recognizes this union of the three deities; that of Mars and Quirinus is acknowledged by all. Creuzer¹⁶² had already noticed that Picus connects Mars with Jupiter. Evans¹⁶³ believes that the *ancile* and possibly Picus help to identify Mars with "the warrior Sun-god of prehistoric Greece," who is perhaps the Cretan Zeus. Preller,¹⁶⁴ Wissowa,¹⁶⁵ and Carter,¹⁶⁶ identify Picus with Mars. Roscher¹⁶⁷ thinks the woodpecker's sacred character and his relation to the God of Growth rests upon his prophetic ability, since by his cry he foretells rain to the anxious farmer; but if Mars and Jupiter are one, the lightning-bird belongs rightly to them both. In the same article Roscher calls attention to the traces of a Capitoline Mars-cult.¹⁶⁸

If originally, so early that the Romans had lost all knowledge of it by historical times, lightning was associated with Mars as well as with Jupiter, we would expect to find some trace of it in the equipment of their flamens. This would accord with our interpretation of Servius' remark that the *trabea* was a common possession of these priests and of the augurs.¹⁶⁹ Of course, this hypothesis is uncertain, and is not neces-

¹⁵⁷ Cic. *De Leg.* II, 20.

¹⁵⁸ It is often shown on coins as affixed to trophies. This requires a more complete explanation than that given by Helbig, *Sur les attributs*, pp. 20 f.

¹⁵⁹ A purple and white *trabea* was worn by the kings, the "human Jupiters." There is some doubt as to the color of that worn by the flamens.

¹⁶⁰ Cic. *De Div.* I, 30.

¹⁶¹ Wissowa, *R. K.*², p. 122.

¹⁶² Creuzer, *Symbolik* IV³, p. 368.

¹⁶³ Evans, *op. cit.* especially p. 130 and n. 1.

¹⁶⁴ Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Myth.* I, 379; "Dennoch ist Picus, da er wesentlich nur Symbol des Mars war, niemals eigentlicher und selbständiger Cultusgott gewesen;" cf. p. 377.

¹⁶⁵ Wissowa in Roscher, *Lex.* I, 2, 1454.

¹⁶⁶ Carter in Roscher, *Lex.* III, 2, 2495; with the reference Dion. Hal. I, 31, may be compared Appian, *Rom. Hist.* I, 1, Φαῖνος ὁ τοῦ Ἀρεως.

¹⁶⁷ Roscher, *Lex.* II, 2, 2431.

¹⁶⁸ Roscher, *op. cit.*, 2392 f.

¹⁶⁹ Serv. *Aen.* VII, 190: "Ancile et trabea communia sunt [auguri] cum Diali vel Martiali sacerdote"; VII, 612: "Suetonius . . . dicit tria genera esse trabearum: . . . tertium augurale de purpura et cocco."

sary for the rest of our argument, but at least Helbig is mistaken in saying that there is no hint that the *trabea* of the flamens had a different color than the *toga praetexta*.¹⁷⁰ Samter has some ground for considering that it was entirely purple,¹⁷¹ though the Suetonius reference¹⁷² is more convincing than his argument from the dress of the Flaminica.

To decide that the twisted fillets of the Vestals were probably scarlet and white is not difficult. Aside from the statement of Servius already quoted,¹⁷³ the religious dress of a priestess of fire would naturally contain some red, and that, as has been shown, of a brilliant¹⁷⁴ hue. If the maintenance of Vesta's fire indeed symbolized the maintenance of the sun's forces,¹⁷⁵ it is all the more probable that the red marble used so freely in the *Atrium Vestae*¹⁷⁶ was connected with that idea. To reproduce scarlet in such material is impossible.

The fillets of *Bona Dea* are less easily accounted for, since so little is known of her character or ritual. Yet we are told on the authority of Varro that she was the same as Fauna,¹⁷⁷ the sister, wife, or daughter of Faunus. Now, Faunus, the son of Picus (or of Mars), dwelt in groves, often of oak,¹⁷⁸ and it was in a grove that the rites of *Bona Dea* were celebrated.¹⁷⁹ It is, therefore, not unlikely that they were connected with the lightning, and that the scarlet fillets showed consecration to the deity, or, by representing the flash, warded off the thunderbolt, on the principle that "lightning never strikes twice in the same place."¹⁸⁰

There seems to be no trace in Latin literature of a prayer uttered to avert lightning from the crops, such as is found in India,¹⁸¹ though

¹⁷⁰ Helbig, *Hermes* XXXIX, 1904, 178.

¹⁷¹ Samter, *Phil. N. F.* X, 1897, 394, n. 3.

¹⁷² Serv. *Aen.* VII, 612: ". . . unum dis sacratum quod est tantum de purpura."

¹⁷³ Serv. *Aen.* X, 538: "infula . . . plerumque tortilis de albo et cocco."

¹⁷⁴ The purple used in her service, as in that of every deity, will be accounted for in another chapter.

¹⁷⁵ A. B. Cook, *Cl. R.* XVIII, 1904, 366.

¹⁷⁶ Jordan, *Der Tempel der Vesta*, p. 38.

¹⁷⁷ Lactant. I, 22, 9-11; Arnob. I, 36; cf. Fowler, *Rom. Fest.* 103 ff. and references; Peter in Roscher, *Lex.* I, 2, 1453 f.

¹⁷⁸ Ov. *Fast.* III, 295 ff.; *Aen.* VIII, 314 f.

¹⁷⁹ Prop. IV, 9, 24 ff.

¹⁸⁰ Blinkenberg, *op. cit.* 68 ff., has collected numerous instances of similar use of thunderstones. Cf. the red cloth placed over a millstone to ward off hail (Palladius, *De Re Rust.* I, 35).

¹⁸¹ Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, p. 142, VII, 11: "With thy broad thunder, with the beacon, elevated by the gods that pervade this all, with the lightning do not thou destroy our grain, O god; nor do thou destroy it with the rays of the sun."

it is a temptation to wonder if that thought was included in the "desolation, ruin, damage" which the farmer entreated Mars to keep from him¹⁸² at the time when the crops were "in greatest peril from storms and diseases."¹⁸³

If we knew more about the worship of the Italian Saturn, light might be thrown on the question just suggested, but it is impossible even to tell whether the scarlet cloak of his devotee was of native origin or a Greek importation. Still, the legend that he was the first king, father of Picus, is to be remembered, together with the fact that recent investigations point to a primitive monotheism preceding polytheistic ideas in all nations.¹⁸⁴

Of Vulcan, again, we know little, but we would expect scarlet to be present in his cult. It will be recalled that a red calf was sacrificed to him.¹⁸⁵ In this connection we may note that at Iguvium red or black animals were sacrificed to Mars and to "Praestita Cerfia Cerfi Martii."¹⁸⁶

The use of scarlet in medicine as already described is now readily explained. Any great power is able to do harm or good, and its symbol may be used to avert trouble or drive out evil spirits. Blinkenberg records many instances of thunderstones used as amulets and for cures.¹⁸⁷ Scarlet, also representing lightning, would perform a similar service. This use, as was said before, is to be carefully distinguished from "sympathetic magic," and from the employment of other shades of red.

¹⁸² Cato, *R. R.* 141.

¹⁸³ W. Warde Fowler, *op. cit.* 126.

¹⁸⁴ W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, pp. 30 ff.

¹⁸⁵ *C. I. L.* VI, 826.

¹⁸⁶ Buecheler, *Umbrica*, pp. 3, 23, 105-107. Did this custom influence the story of Decius Mus sacrificing red oxen to Mars (Pliny, *N. H.* XXII, 9)?

¹⁸⁷ Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 75, 82, 89, 90, 97, 99, 101, 107, 108.

CHAPTER II

PURPLE

With the exception of white, *purpureus* was the color most commonly used in Roman religion. It appeared in the worship of every deity whose identity and rites are known to us,¹ and in many relations which at first sight seem devoid of religious significance. Yet in spite of this widespread use—perhaps even because of it—it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to determine the religious significance which purple held for the Romans. This chapter can claim only to pave the way for further study by showing how extensively it was employed, and by discussing the various theories about its meaning.

Purple formed the border of the Vestal's *suffibulum*² and of the *toga praetexta* which was worn by free-born children,³ by the kings, by all the curule magistrates, and by some officials of lower rank when presiding at games,⁴ by the pontifices (including the flamens), augurs, epulones, quindecimviri⁵ and the Arval Brothers,⁶ and, according to a statement made by Paulus, by women when offering a certain sacrifice.⁷ A purple stripe was the distinguishing feature of the tunics worn by knights and senators,⁸ and was woven into the *ricinium* used by the *magister* of the Arval Brothers,⁹ the high-born lads (*camilli*)¹⁰ attendant upon them and other priests, and by mourning women.¹¹ Purple was a

¹ *E. g.*, Juno, Livy XXVII, 37, 13-15: "virginum ordinem sequebantur decemviri coronati laurea praetextatique . . . Inde . . . aedem Iunonis Reginae perrectum." Cf. Serv. *Aen.* VIII, 652; Tib. IV, 6, 13; Varro, *L. L.*, Goetz-Schoell, p. 65, 2 ff.

² Fest. 348 M., 474 L.: Paul. 349 M., 475 L.; cf. Ambros. *Epist.* I, 18, 11.

³ Livy XXIV, 7, 2-3; cf. Momm. *Staatsv.* I³, 418 f.; 391, n. 5; 422 f.; Marquardt, *Privatleben* I,² 43.

⁴ Livy, *l. c.*; cf. Marquardt, *Privatleben* II³, 545.

⁵ Momm. *Staatsv.* I³, 421 f.; *Ara Pacis* in Mrs. Strong's *Roman Sculpture*, p. 47, pls. XI, XV.

⁶ *Acta Fr. Arv.*, Henzen, pp. CCIII-IV; Momm. *l. c.* A very clear statement of the uses of the *toga praetexta* is given by W. Warde Fowler in his note *On the Toga Praetexta of Roman Children*, Cl. R., X, 1896, p. 317.

⁷ Paul. 155 M., 143 L.: "Mutini Titini sacellum Romae fuit. Cui mulieres velatae togis praetextatis solebant sacrificare."

⁸ Pliny, *N. H.* IX, 127; XXXIII, 29.

⁹ Fest. 274 M., 342 L.; *Acta Fr. Arv.*, Henzen p. LXXIV.

¹⁰ *Acta Fr. Arv.*, Henzen p. CXXVIII; Paul. 93 M., 82 L.; Marquardt, *Privatleben* II², 576, n. 5.

¹¹ Cic. *De Leg.* II, 59; Varro in Non. 542: "Mulieres in adversis rebus ac luctibus, cum omnem vestitum delicatorem ac luxuriosum postea institutum ponunt, ricinia sumunt."

prominent color on the *trabeae* of kings and consuls, knights, *Salii*, augurs, the flamens of Jupiter and Mars; the *trabea* "consecrated to the gods" was wholly of purple.¹² It had its place on the heavy *laena* of the flamens, whether that garment was a purple cloak or a special kind of *toga praetexta*.¹³ It was lavishly used in the costume of the *Flaminica Dialis*, who wore a purple *pallium*, *rica*, and *tutulus*.¹⁴ A broad purple stripe characterized the devotee of Saturn.¹⁵ A wavy line of purple bordered the *linus* worn by lictors, *servi publici*, and priests' assistants.¹⁶ The fillets worn by women may have been of purple,¹⁷ while certain others were of purple and white.¹⁸ The general on his day of triumph and the city praetor at the *ludi Apollinares* wore the costume of Jove himself—a *toga purpurea* (*toga picta*) and a *tunica palmata* whose groundwork was purple.¹⁹ Caesar was granted the right to wear the *toga purpurea* perpetually;²⁰ this garment, believed to have been worn by the kings,²¹ was used by the emperor for certain festal occasions,²² and, under the empire, by the consul at his inauguration and when he presided at games.²³ The *vexilla*²⁴ and the *paludamentum*²⁵ were often purple. As the head of the army, the emperor had the sole

¹² Serv. *Aen.* VII, 612.

¹³ Cic. *Brut.* 14, 56; Serv. *Aen.* IV, 262; Livy XXVII, 8, 8; Marquardt, *Staatsr.* III², 330; Samter in Pauly-Wissowa VI, 2487.

¹⁴ Serv. *Aen.* IV, 137; Gell. X, 15, 27; Fest. 289, 355 M., 368, 484 L.; Paul. 288, 354 M., 369, 485 L.

¹⁵ Tertull. *De Pallio* 4: "cum latioris purpurae ambitio . . . Saturnum commendat."

¹⁶ Gell. XII, 3, 3; C. I. L. V, 1, 3401; Serv. *Aen.* XII, 120; Isid. *Orig.* XV, 14, 2; XIX, 22, 26; 33, 4.

¹⁷ *Ciris* (510 f.) and Statius (*Achill.* I, 611) represent Greek women as wearing purple fillets. Perhaps the poets are here introducing a Roman custom, yet in that case it may be one which had arisen in late times, after purple became a fashionable color which women demanded the right to wear (Livy XXXIV, 1-7); cf. Samter, *Familienfeste*, p. 40, n. 3.

¹⁸ See Chap. I, n. 19.

¹⁹ Serv. *Ecl.* X, 27; Livy XXVII, 4, 8 and 10; XXXI, 11, 12; Suet. *Nero*, 25; Fest. 209 M., 228 L.; Dion. Hal. III, 62; Müller, *Die Etrusker* I, 347, n. 64; Momm. *Staatsr.* I³, 411 f., 422.

²⁰ Cic. *De Div.* I, 119; II, 37; Pliny, *N. H.* XI, 186; Cass. Dio XLIV 4, 1; Appian, *B. C.* II, 106; Val. Max. 1, 6, 13.

²¹ Dion. Hal. III, 61, 62; IV, 74; Cass. Dio XLIV, 6, 1; 11, 2; Zonaras VII, 8; Prop. IV, 4, 53 f. But see Momm. *Staatsr.* I, 410 f.

²² Momm. *op. cit.* 416 f.; 439.

²³ Momm. *op. cit.* 414 ff.

²⁴ Claud. *In Rufin.* II, 177; Capitol. *Gord.* VIII, 3.

²⁵ See p. 5., n. 38.

right to wear the *paludamentum*; moreover, he alone had the life-long right to use the triumphal insignia. From these privileges, apparently, came the final adoption of "imperial purple" by Roman monarchs.²⁶

Like other colors, *purpureus* was used in medicine, though seemingly less often than scarlet. Sometimes the darker shades were insisted upon. Thus a hair-tonic includes among its ingredients a small amount of purple wool—"optime in conchylio tinctae."²⁷ A cure for the stomach-ache consists of wet poultices made of wool; if they are ineffective, similar ones are to be made of the twice-dyed purple; after these are removed, the patient's body is to be covered with a dry purple cloth.²⁸ Again, three mulberry buds gathered with due solemnity are to be dipped in Galatian scarlet, strung on a scarlet thread, and fastened to a deep purple cloth; this amulet is to be bound to the patient's body while a charm to drive away the disease is recited.²⁹

The shade of *purpureus* used at Rome changed rapidly in the last century of the republic as the deeper and more expensive hues became known. Pliny quotes Cornelius Nepos as saying that in his youth violet-purple was a favorite, but was soon succeeded by Tarentine red; this in turn gave way to the Tyrian purple, or dark blood-red, which P. Lentulus Spinther (curule aedile in 63 B. C.) was the first to use on the *praetexta*.³⁰ This *dibapha* is no doubt the shade represented by the combination of Cyprian copper and lead which Pliny says was used for the *praetexta* on statues.³¹ It seems to be reproduced on a bronze statue (perhaps a *camillus*) in the Palazzo Dei Conservatori at Rome. Mrs. Strong, describing the statue,³² quotes from Amelung-Holtzinger as follows: "The dress was a white tunic with two narrow perpendicular stripes of purple, which are here inlaid with copper." It is probable

²⁶ Mommsen, *op. cit.* 433, 440; Marquardt, *Privatleben* II², 515; Claud. *In Rufin.* II, 346; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Frag.* p. 344, l. 26; p. 345, ll. 13 ff.

²⁷ Marcellus, VI, 30.

²⁸ Cassius Felix XLII, 98, Rose . . . "dibafos purpureos diligenter consutos similiter facies"; p. 99: "et postquam foveris diligenter deterges et purpura sicca operies et fasciabis."

²⁹ Marcellus XXXI, 33: . . . "mittesque in coccum Galaticum et in phoenicio lino conchyliatae purpurae conligabis." For other instances of *purpureus* used as a curative see Marcellus VIII, 89; IX, 17 and 115. The use of *purpureus* in connection with funeral rites will be described later.

³⁰ Pliny, *N. H.* IX, 135 ff. Lentulus was severely blamed for this innovation. See also Cic. *ad Att.* II, 9, 2.

³¹ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIV, 98: "Cyprio si addatur plumbum, colos purpurae fit in statuarum praetextis."

³² Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 98.

that the same shade was represented on the red mantle of the Prima Porta Augustus³³ and on the dress of other imperial or sacerdotal figures,³⁴ though time and weather have affected the remaining traces of paint and changed the hue.

At least as early as the Second Punic War purple had ceased to have a purely religious significance, and had become also an article of luxury.³⁵ By the second century B. C. it adorned the horses of nobles,³⁶ and henceforth its use became more and more common. With the growth of this tendency to luxury we are not concerned.

Diels³⁷ was the first modern scholar to observe the connection between *purpureus* and the color of blood, and to deduce from the use of blood in sacrifices the lustral and prophylactic meanings of purple. Ancient writers recognized the similarity in color and expressed it in many poetic phrases. A few examples of these will serve our purpose. "Purpureus Lunae sanguine vultus erat";³⁸ "Purpureo suffusus sanguine candor";³⁹ "Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro."⁴⁰ Pliny⁴¹ compares Tyrian purple to the color of clotted blood, and refers to Homer's line:⁴² αἵματι δὲ χθών | δέετο πορφυρέω. Servius often compares them; thus in commenting on the purple robes placed on Misenus' funeral pyre, he says:⁴³ "purpureas ad imitationem sanguinis, in quo est anima"; with the same passage in mind, he tells us:⁴⁴ "Varro dicit mulieres in exsequiis et luctu ideo solitas ora lacerare, ut sanguine ostenso inferis

³³ U. Köhler, *Annali* XXXV, 1863, p. 434, n. 1; Henzen, *Bulletino* 1863, p. 74.

³⁴ Dr. Esther B. Van Deman has very kindly allowed me to use notes made by her in the museums of Rome and Naples. Besides the Augustus, a statue of Marcellus in the Naples Museum and a Caesar of the same type, each with a red cloak over his arm, may be mentioned here.

³⁵ This is indicated by the passage of the Oppian Law (Livy XXXIV, 1). It is significant that the law did not apply to the dress of priests or magistrates, or to the *praetexta* of children.

³⁶ Livy XXXIV, 7.

³⁷ Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, p. 70, n. 2. However, Diels confuses *purpureus* with *punicus* and *luteus*, assigning the same significance to all.

³⁸ Ov. *Am.* I, 8, 12.

³⁹ Stat. *Silv.* II, 1, 41.

⁴⁰ *Aen.* XII, 67.

⁴¹ Pliny, *N. H.* IX, 135. "Laus ei summa in colore sanguinis concreti, nigricans adspectu idemque suspectu refulgens. Unde et Homero purpureus dicitur sanguis."

⁴² *Il.* XVII, 360 f.

⁴³ Serv. *Aen.* VI, 221: cf. V, 79. Isidorus (*Orig.* XI, 1, 123) is doubtless referring to this passage and to *Aen.* V, 79, when he writes. "Proprie autem sanguis animae possessio est; inde et purpureae vestes et flores purpurei mortuis praebentur."

⁴⁴ Serv. *Aen.* III, 67.

satisfaciant, quare etiam institutum est, ut apud sepulcra et victimae caedantur. Apud veteres etiam homines interficiebantur . . . sed quoniam sumptuosum erat et crudele victimas vel homines interficere, sanguinei coloris coepta est vestis mortuis inici"; and again, commenting on the lines, "multa morte recepit: purpuream vomit ille animam," he says:⁴⁵ "Multi hic distinguunt, ut sit sensus talis: eduxit gladium multo crurore purpureum."

It is true that *puniceus* is also used as an epithet of blood, but this causes no difficulty if it is remembered that blood differs in color according to its freshness, the quantity shed, and whether it comes from the veins or the arteries. *Purpureus* is the better adjective for the blood of a victim pouring out in full tide, then standing in the trenches or gradually becoming absorbed in the earth.

Servius loses no opportunity of mentioning that the blood contains the life.⁴⁶ This conception is a perfectly natural one, and is easily accepted, together with the accompanying idea that blood can give strength, health and life.⁴⁷ It is, therefore, to be expected that the drinking or application of blood will cure disease. Crooke⁴⁸ gives a number of such cures from India: "In Sirsa, when a horse falls sick, the cure is to kill a fowl or a he-goat and let its warm blood flow into the mouth of the animal." "Others use the blood of the great lizard in case of snake bite. . . . Similarly, among the Dravidians, the Kos drink the blood of the sacrificial bull: the Malers cure demoniacs by giving the blood of a sacrificed buffalo." In Rome epileptics were greatly benefited by drinking fresh human blood. Pliny relates an especially disgusting but significant tale:⁴⁹ "Sanguinem quoque gladiatorum bibunt intuentibus populis comitiales [morbi], quod spectare facientis in eadem harena feras quoque horror est. At, Hercule, illi ex homine ipso sorbere efficacissimum putant calidum spirantemque et *una ipsam animam* ex osculo volnerum." Or a cure could be wrought by eating the flesh of a wild beast that had been killed with a weapon by which a man had previously

⁴⁵ Serv. *Aen.* IX, 346.

⁴⁶ Serv. *Aen.* III, 67: "sanguis enim velut animae possessio est; VI, 221: ". . . sanguinis, in quo est anima"; IX, 346: ". . . eos qui animam sanguinem dicunt"; cf. V, 79.

⁴⁷ Fowler, *Rom. Fest.* 314, 316, n. 4; von Duhn, *Rot und Tol*, Arch. Rel. IX, 1906, 3: "Der Tote verlangt in dieser Zeit instinktiv nach dem Leben, nach Blut."

⁴⁸ Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, I, 70; II, 20. The use of the blood to "scare evil spirits" is clearly secondary to its use as a health-giving power.

⁴⁹ Pliny, *N. H.* XXVIII, 4.

been slain.⁵⁰ Blood applied externally was very good for quinsy, and if smeared upon the face enabled the victim of a seizure to rise again quickly; this blood might come from any part of the patient's own body.⁵¹ Scribonius Largus asserts⁵² that he knew a woman ("quandam honestam matronem") at Rome who had been cured of epilepsy by a remedy containing as much blood as could be taken from a recently captured tortoise and a dove and still allow the creatures to escape with their lives. He adds: "Nam sunt et qui sanguinem ex vena sua missum bibant." In view of these instances it is surely significant that epilepsy and quinsy are also helped by drinking a concoction of purple violets and water.⁵³ Applied externally, the purple violets relieve various other ailments.

When a vein has been cut, purple wool bound upon the wound will soon heal it.⁵⁴ Here again is the connection between purple and blood. The color of the wool seems to indicate that it is believed to reinforce and renew the diminished life-force. It is probable that in the remedies previously mentioned⁵⁵ the same thought lingers, though of course it is quite possible that here the secondary idea of driving out the evil spirit has become the main one.

The manner in which similar ideas may overlap is shown in the story of Nisus. His fateful lock of hair, on which depended his empire and his life, is usually spoken of as *purpureus*.⁵⁶ Frazer has rightly connected it with similar tales of golden hair.⁵⁷ So Atreus' golden-fleeced lamb is called *purpureus* by the scholiast on Persius.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ Pliny, *N. H.* XXVIII, 34: "Orpheus et Archelaus scribunt . . . comitialis morbis sanari cibo e carne ferae occisae eodem ferro quo homo interfectus sit."

⁵¹ Pliny, *N. H.* XXVIII, 43: "Sanguine ipsius hominis ex quacumque parte emissio efficacissime anginam inlini tradunt Orpheus et Archelaus, item ora comitali morbo conlapsorum exsurgere etiam protinus. Quidam, si pollices pedum pungantur eaeque guttae referantur in faciem."

⁵² Scrib. Largus XVI.

⁵³ Pliny, *N. H.* XXI, 130. "Purpureae [violae] refrigerant; contra inflammationes inlinuntur stomacho ardenti; imponuntur et capiti in fronte, oculorum privatim epiphoris et sede procidente volvave et contra suppurationes. Crapulam et gravedines capitis inpositis coronis olfactuque discutiunt, anginas ex aqua potae. Id quod purpureum est ex iis, comitialibus medetur, maxime pueris, in aqua potum."

⁵⁴ Ps. Theod. add. XXIII, p. 280, 16 Rose: "Vena incisa si fuerit, floccum purpureum alligato, et mox claudit."

⁵⁵ See above, notes 48, 49, 50.

⁵⁶ Verg. *Georg.* I, 405; Tib. 1, 4, 63; Ov. *Met.* VIII, 8-10, 80, 93; Hyginus, *Fab.* 198.

⁵⁷ Frazer, *G. B.*, Balder the Beautiful II, 103.

⁵⁸ Schol on Pers. V, 8: "Qui Atreus habere dicebatur agnum purpureis velleribus, de quo oraculo responsum fuerat, tam diu imperaturum donec esset qui eum immolaret."

But the life-blood is capable of being employed in different ways. Samter, following Diels, explains the use of animal sacrifices as substitutes for the guilty persons, who are often sprinkled with the victim's blood as a symbolic act. This sprinkling, in turn, is succeeded by the wearing of a purple garment to represent the blood.⁵⁹ This gives blood and its equivalent, *purpureus*, a lustral significance which is borne out by Pliny's "[purpura] dis advocatur placandis,"⁶⁰ and Varro's statement that women at funerals lacerated their faces in order to satisfy the dead by a show of blood.⁶¹ The life-blood is offered to appease the angry deities,⁶² or, by a natural transition, to propitiate the gods that they may do good and not harm to the sacrificer. The two deas are so closely connected that it is impossible to be certain which came first, but it seems reasonable to give the precedence to the lustral thought. In this connection a statement of Macrobius should be noticed, Tullus it may be based on an untrustworthy tradition. Assigning to though Hostilius the introduction into Rome of the Etruscan insignia of nobility, he says:⁶³ "Sed praetexta illo seculo puerilis non usurpabat aetas." That purple was considered an effective protection for children is shown by a story of Aurelian's childhood:⁶⁴ "Ex palliolo purpureo . . . sacerdos mulier crepundia filio fecisse perhibetur."

Fowler points out that among the Romans there is but little trace of the mystic use of blood in sacrifice,⁶⁵ and believes that the color purple has a less primitive meaning. He states his point of view in the follow-

⁵⁹ Samter, *Familienfeste*, pp. 53 ff; Diels, *op. cit.*, p. 5, n. 4, p. 70, n. 2.

⁶⁰ Pliny, *N. H.* IX, 127; cf. Clemens Alex. *Protr.* I, 10: Σὺ δὲ εἰ ποθεῖς ἰδεῖν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν θεόν, καθαρσίῳν μεταλαμβάνε θεοπροπῶν, οὐ δάρνης πετάλων καὶ ταινιῶν τινῶν ἐρίῳ καὶ πορφύρᾳ πεποικιλμένων.

⁶¹ Interpol. Serv. *Aen.* III, 67: "Varro dicit mulieres in exsequiis et luctu ideo solitas ora lacerare, ut sanguine ostenso inferis satisfaciant."

⁶² Crooke (*op. cit.*, I, 98) gives an especially interesting example from a tribe of North India. The village god is usually offered a "thick griddle cake, a little milk, and perhaps a few jungle flowers; but in more serious cases where the deity makes his presence disagreeably felt, he is propitiated with a goat, pig, or fowl, which is decapitated outside the shrine with the national and sacrificial axe. The head is brought inside dripping with blood, and a few drops of blood are allowed to fall on the platform."

⁶³ Macrobi. *Sat.* I, 6, 7.

⁶⁴ Vopisc. *Aur.* IV, 5; cf. Peter, *Hist. Rom. Frag.*, p. 360, ll. 22 f. Many instances of the lustral and protective powers of blood and the color red are collected by Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, und Tod*, pp. 175 f., 184 f. See also Juynboll, *Arch. Rel.* VII, 1904, p. 505.

⁶⁵ W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 33-34.

ing words: "If the red color has anything to do with blood-shedding, it is probably more than merely symbolic; it may mean that the sacrificing priest partakes of that life and strength which he passes on to the god through the blood, that is the life, of the victim."⁶⁶

Robertson Smith and Pley⁶⁷ believe that unity of the deity with the worshiper is thus indicated, but the instances they adduce seem to show that this idea is connected rather with the use of the victims' skins than with that of blood and *purpureus*.⁶⁸

As was stated at the beginning of this chapter, the correct view has not been agreed upon, and it may be that investigation can never go beyond the realm of theory. The following suggestion, however, may be offered: if indeed the use of purple in religious ceremonies was brought into Rome from Etruria,⁶⁹ the original connection with bloodshed may by that time have been forgotten, and the prophylactic idea may have partially, if not completely, supplanted the lustral conception. Therefore the purple border of the Vestal's *suffibulum*, one of the innovations of that period of upheaval, would serve to help ward off evil influences during the performance of the sacred rites, and would be appropriate even for the virgin priestesses with their bloodless sacrifices.⁷⁰

For children, whose tender youth needed special protection against hostile spirits, for priests of every kind and their attendants, for women praying to Mutinus for the great gift of children, the purple-bordered garment would be recognized as a necessity. The magistrates, often assisting at sacrifices,⁷¹ always representing the power of the State,

⁶⁶ W. Warde Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 177. The difference between red (scarlet) and purple is noted in the same paragraph, but it is assumed that both colors may have a common symbolism. The *flammeum* is called red, though its color, *luteus*, is nearer orange; cf. Blümner, *Die Farbenbezeichnungen bei den römischen Dichtern*, p. 126 (Berliner Studien für classische Philologie and Archaeologie, XIII, 3).

⁶⁷ Pley, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff.

⁶⁸ Fowler, *Rom. Fest.* p. 318 suggests that the meaning of skins at the Lupercalia was "one of the many well-known *piacula* in which the worshipper wears the skin of a very holy victim, thereby entering sacramentally into the very nature of the god to whom the victim is sacrificed"; cf. pp. 315 ff.

⁶⁹ For an account of the Etruscan origin of the *toga praetexta* and the *vestis triumphalis* cf. Mueller, *Die Etrusker* I, pp. 341 f., 344 ff.

⁷⁰ Fowler (*R. E.*, p. 177) in remarking that the Vestals wore white only, takes no account of the passage of Festus referred to (p. 35, n. 2), though he mentions it in *Classical Review* X, 1896, p. 317.

⁷¹ Here should be included the *devotio* of Decius Mus. See W. Warde Fowler, *R. E.* p. 207 and notes.

and thereby especially exposed to the attacks of invisible malignant forces, must needs wear it constantly, while the *clavus* of knights and senators would afford the protection needed by prominent citizens. In time of war the extraordinary dangers, unseen as well as seen, which threatened the army might well account for the purple *paludamentum* worn by the general,⁷² for the purple *vexilla* of the troops⁷³ and the purple on their *trabeae*.⁷⁴

The special garb of the triumphator might have the same prophylactic intention, shown also by the assumption of the *bullæ*, and by the *fascinum* swinging underneath the triumphal car. Or perhaps the conception of a "religious force" passing from deity to worshiper was preëminent, since the triumphator wore the robes of Jupiter and acted as his representative.⁷⁵

Why purple was used so freely in the dress of the Flaminica Dialis⁷⁶ and what its exact significance was in that case can be determined only by a special study of her duties, privileges and taboos.

The decoration of sacred trees with fillets of purple and white, if a Roman custom, seems akin to the ceremony of sprinkling the boundary-stone with the blood at the Terminalia, "an act, which all the world over shows that an object is holy and tenanted by a spirit."⁷⁷ That this instance of the mystic use of blood survived among the country folk, who seem never to have adopted the use of purple,⁷⁸ is a fact to be seriously considered when the religious meaning of *purpureus* is being sought.

The use of purple in death seems to have been somewhat restricted among the Romans. It is true that mourning women wore the *ricinium*,⁷⁹ and the man in charge of private funeral games wore a *prætexta*

⁷² See p. 5, n. 38.

⁷³ See p. 22, n. 24.

⁷⁴ See p. 4, n. 28; p. 16, n. 146.

⁷⁵ Wissowa, *R. K.*, p. 111.

⁷⁶ See p. 22, n. 14.

⁷⁷ W. Warde Fowler, *R. E.*, p. 82; cf. p. 34.

⁷⁸ This may be due to its expense, or to the belief that the common people were of less value than the patrician element, or to both causes operating together. So the child of plebeian parents wore a leathern bulla, while the child of noble birth wore the magic emblems confined in a golden case, giving added protection (See chapter IV.)

⁷⁹ The *ricinium* seems to have been worn from the time the death occurred until that of the funeral ceremonies, when it was changed for a black garment; cf. Varro in *Non.* 549: "ut dum supra terram esset, riciniis lugerent, funere ipso, ut pullis palliis amictæ"; cf. *Non.* 550.

pulla,⁸⁰ but the corpse itself was clad in the garments belonging to the highest official position that had been held in life.⁸¹ The censor was granted a special honor—that of the *toga purpurea*—at death, though it was refused him during life.⁸² The statement that Caesar's funeral couch was spread with purple and gold⁸³ probably refers to the *toga picta*, which he had worn as *triumphator* and which had later been granted to him by the Senate as a personal garb of honor.⁸⁴ Vergil represents Aeneas as robing the body of the royal youth Pallas in a robe of purple and gold for the funeral rites,⁸⁵ and as covering the corpse of the hero Misenus with purple garments.⁸⁶ To the spirit of each, as to those of Polydorus⁸⁷ and Anchises,⁸⁸ blood is offered.⁸⁹ Artemidorus' remark that wreaths of purple violets indicate death, "for the purple color has some sympathy with death,"⁹⁰ represents the Greek feeling. That of Ovid, addressed to his book, "nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fuco: . . . non est conveniens luctibus ille color,"⁹¹ represents the Roman feeling, when purple garments were for festal occasions, to be laid aside in times of grief.⁹²

Yet the Romans offered blood to the Manes, not only at a funeral, but yearly at the Parentalia.⁹³ Von Duhn⁹⁴ and Sonny⁹⁵ have shown that the same custom prevails in many different parts of the world and that red ochre is often used in place of blood. Von Duhn interprets this custom as the effort to satisfy the dead by giving them life to protect them against evil influences that might assail them in their defenceless condition. Sonny rightly contends that this is not the

⁸⁰ Paul. 236 M., 273 L.; Momm. *Staatsv.* I. 391, n. 6.

⁸¹ Momm. *op. cit.*, 440 f.; Marquardt, *Privatleben* I², 347.

⁸² Momm. *op. cit.*, 410, n. 2; 411, n. 3.

⁸³ Suet, *Caes.* 84: "Lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus et ad caput tropaeum cum veste in qua fuerat occisus."

⁸⁴ See p. 22, n. 20.

⁸⁵ *Aen.* XI, 72 ff.

⁸⁶ *Aen.* VI, 220 f.

⁸⁷ *Aen.* III, 67.

⁸⁸ *Aen.* V, 78.

⁸⁹ Cf. the custom of gladiatorial combats at funerals.

⁹⁰ Artemid. I, 77: οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πορφύρεων καὶ θάνατον σημαίνουσιν· ἔχει γὰρ τινα τὸ πορφυροῦν χρῶμα συμπάθειαν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον.

⁹¹ Ov. *Trist.* I, 1, 5-6.

⁹² Livy XXXIV, 7, 10: "Quid aliud in luctu quam purpuram atque aurum deponunt?"

⁹³ Fowler, *op. cit.*, 308.

⁹⁴ Von Duhn, *Rot and Tot*, Arch. Rel. IX, 1906, 1 ff.

⁹⁵ Sonny, *Rote Farbe im Totenkult*, Arch. Rel. IX, 1906, 525 ff.

original idea. Samter⁹⁶ declares for the lustral meaning, and this agrees in part with the Roman custom. Blood, the purple of the *ricinium*, and that of the *praetexta pulla*, appease and propitiate the dead and protect the living. The purple on the magistrates' garments doubtless belongs to a later period of development, when the dead were thought of as demanding that the conditions of their earthly life attend them into the spirit-world.

In conclusion, it seems probable that *purpureus* originally represented the blood, that is, the life, of a victim offered to appease an angry spirit, or to win the good-will of one whose favor was desired; that from the thought of propitiating an indifferent or hostile *numen* developed the idea of warding off evil influences, at first by sacrifice alone, then by wearing the symbolic color; that by the time the use of purple dyes reached Rome, the original meaning was obscured, though probably not entirely lost, and the magical prophylactic idea prevailed; that the conception of a religious force passing between the deity and the worshiper, through the life-blood of the victim and its representative color may have been present in certain rites. This theory will at least afford a starting-point for further study.

⁹⁶ Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, und Tod*, 193.

CHAPTER III

BLACK AND WHITE

The dualism of light and darkness in Indo-Germanic religions has often been discussed, and their connection with black and white assumed as natural. Yet Gummere in his article *On the Symbolic Use of the Colors Black and White in Germanic Tradition*¹ claims that the assumption will not hold for that branch of the Aryan race, while Stengel's chapter, *Die Farbe der Opfertiere*,² raises the question whether the Greeks considered brightness and whiteness equivalent. When we find red animals sacrificed to Artemis at Syracuse and at Lusus in Arcadia,³ black,⁴ white,⁵ or red⁶ sacrificed to Poseidon, and either white or red to Helios at Rhodes,⁷ though none but black were offered to the chthonic deities,⁸ we must reserve judgment as to the symbolism of color in Greek worship. It seems evident that the "bright" sacrifices demanded by the oracle of Apollo⁹ were not necessarily white.

In the Vedas color symbolism as connected with dualism is strongly apparent. Cakes for sacrifice should be made of black and white grains of rice; the black should be offered to Varuna, as god of death, the white to Aditya, the sun.¹⁰ In the *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*¹¹ a charm against disease and death runs as follows: "the sun shall rise here for thee: rise thou from deep death, yea from black darkness!" And the same

¹ *Haverford College Studies*, No. 1, pp. 112-162.

² Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, pp. 187-190.

³ Bacchyl. V, 102; XI, 105.

⁴ Homer, *Od.* III, 6.

⁵ Dittenberger, *Syll.*² II, 615, ll. 6, 9.

⁶ Pindar, *Pyth.* IV, 205 (365).

⁷ Ziehen, *Leg. Sacr.*, no. 149=I. G. XII, 1, 892.

⁸ Stengel, *op. cit.*, 188 f.

⁹ Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* IV, 9, 3. *φαιδρά μὲν οὐρανίους, χθονίους δ' ἐναλίγκια χοροῖ;* Cic. *De Leg.* II, 45 (=Plato, *Leges* XII, 956 A) "color autem albus praecipue decorus deo est cum in ceteris, tum maxime in textili; tincta vero absint nisi a bellicis insignibus" is not inconsistent with the above. The idea is probably a later development from the primitive conception and is much the same as that expressed by Porph. *De Abst.* II, 45. [ἀνδρὸς] ἱερουμένου τῇ νοερᾷ θυσίᾳ καὶ μετὰ λευκῆς ἐσθῆτος προσιώντος τῷ θεῷ.

¹⁰ Von Negelein, *Der Traumschlüssel*, Relgesch. Versuche, XI, 92.

¹¹ Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, Sacred Books of the East, XLII, pp. 60, 191, 211.

symbolism appears in imprecations against enemies: "all that hate us shall go to darkness (hell)!" ; "do thou, god Sûrya (the sun), when thou risest, beat down my rivals . . . they shall go to the nethermost darkness!"

Among the Romans the use of black and white was almost as sharply contrasted as the colors themselves. Black victims for the gods below, white for the gods above, was the rule,¹² which admitted of but two exceptions.¹³ The reason for the rule must have been sought often by inquiring minds, and Arnobius doubtless expresses the sentiment current in his day: "quae in coloribus ratio est ut merito his [diis] albas, illis atras [hostias] conveniat nigerrimasque mactari? quia superis diis, inquit, atque ominum dexteritate pollentibus color laetus acceptus est ac felix hilaritate candoris, at vero diis laevis sedesque habitantibus inferas color furvus est gratior et tristibus suffectus e fucis. . . . Nigra nigris conveniunt et tristia consimilibus grata sunt."¹⁴

That the gods of the underworld and their surroundings should be considered black¹⁵ is easily understood, as is the idea that the realm of blackness is one of terror. Primitive man, like the child, dreads the dark, and fears that from it unknown evil may come upon him. To these dark deities, then, and to the dead, black animals¹⁶ and black garments¹⁷ were sacred.¹⁸

¹² Acro on Hor., *Od.* III, 8, 6: "Superis aptior erat alba victima; nam Diis infernalibus semper nigra [nigrae?] offeri debent"; Juv. XII, 3: "niveam reginae ducimus agnam"; Schol. [Henninius]: "Ut uni ex superis, inferis contra hostia pulla."

¹³ A red calf was offered to Vulcan (*C. I. L.* VI, 826=30837), and red dogs were sacrificed in the spring when the crops were ripening (Fest. 285 M., 358 L., Paul. 45 M., 39 L.). Wissowa (*Religion und Kultus der Römer*², 230, 41) is doubtless right in claiming that the red calf is a suitable sacrifice to the fire-god. He thinks (p. 197) the puppies were offered to ward off the sun's too intense heat from the tender grain, but Frazer's interpretation that they were to make the crops ripe and ruddy (*The Golden Bough* VII, 261; VIII, 34) seems to be the better. Wissowa has carefully pointed out that the *augurium canarium* and the *Robigalia* were not identical (*op. cit.*, p. 196).

¹⁴ Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* VII, 19-20.

¹⁵ A few of the numerous instances may be cited: *Aen.* VI, 127, "atri ianua Ditis"; Ov. *Met.* IV, 438, "nigri . . . Ditis"; Hor. *Od.* II, 13, 21, "furvae regna Proserpinae"; Tib. I, 3, 71, "niger . . . Cerberus"; Ov. *Her.* XI, 103, "Erinyes atrae"; Juv. XIII, 51, "vulturis atri | poena"; Prop. III, 12, 33, "nigrantesque domos animarum intrasse silentum"; Mart. V, 34, 3, "nigras . . . umbras."

¹⁶ Verg. *Geor.* IV, 545 f., *Aen.* V, 736; VI, 153; Lucret. III, 52 f.; Sil. It. I, 119 f.; XIII, 429 f.; *Cenotaphia Pisana*, Orelli-Henzen, 642 (=Dessau 139); *Acta Fr. Arv.* CCXIV Henzen, "Summano patri verbeceas atros."

¹⁷ Prop. IV, 7, 28; Ov. *Ibis* 102; Juv. X, 244 f.; Tac. *Ann.* III, 2: "atrata plebes."

¹⁸ Twice I have found black connected with Jupiter, the sky-god (Wissowa, *op. cit.* p. 113). One instance is in *Aen.* VIII, 352 ff.: "Arcades ipsum | credunt se vidisse

Black is constantly used to signify bad luck, while white indicates good fortune. The appearance of a black dog may break off a wedding;¹⁹ trees that bear black berries or fruits are under the guardianship "inferum deorum avertentiumque" and are unlucky,²⁰ as is also the black fig, whereas the white fig is lucky;²⁰ the tell-tale crow is punished for bringing bad news to Apollo by being turned from white to black;²¹ fifty-seven²² days during the year were *atri dies* on which it was unlawful for the comitia to meet, for the names of Jupiter or Janus to be mentioned,²³ sacrifices offered,²⁴ or anything new undertaken.²⁵ Horace's Genius is "albus et ater,"²⁶ bringing both good and bad fortune; the day of death is *atra* or *niger*;²⁷ Martial's hope is,²⁸ "Procul a libellis nigra sit meis fama, quos rumor alba gemmeus vehit pinna." Infamia flits about on black wings, while Victory's wings are white.²⁹ Lucky days are white,³⁰ and, according to the Cretan custom,³¹ are marked with white stones, as the unlucky are marked with black. The Trojans knew their wanderings were ended when they saw the white sow and her young.³² A white hen fell miraculously into Livia Drusilla's lap,

Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem | aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret." For this, Servius' note is sufficient explanation: "aegida, id est pellem Amaltheae caprae, a qua nutritus est . . . Sane Graeci poetae turbines et procellas *καταιγίδας* appellant, quod haec mota faciat tempestates. Ergo 'nigrantem' tempestatem commoventem." The second is recorded in Macrobius *Sat.* III, 9, 10-11. In the *devotio* of a city, the invocation was uttered to "Dis Pater Veiovis Manes, sive quo alio nomine fas est nominare," and three black sheep were sacrificed. Tellus and Jupiter were called upon as witnesses. Here Jupiter appears as Juppiter Fidius, one of his characteristic rôles, which is not inconsistent with the fact that the oath is directed to the lower world.

¹⁹ Ter. *Ph.* 706.

²⁰ Macrobius *Sat.* III, 20, 2.

²¹ Serv. *Aen.* VII, 761; Ov. *Met.* II, 534 ff.

²² Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, 9.

²³ Macrobius *Sat.* I, 16, 24 f.

²⁴ Macrobius *Sat.* I, 15, 22; Gell. IV, 9, 5.

²⁵ Varro, *L. L.* VI, 29 (Goetz-Schoell).

²⁶ Hor. *Epist.* II, 2, 187 ff.; cf. Porphy. on l. 189.

²⁷ Prop. II, 11, 4; 24 b, 34.

²⁸ Mart. X, 3, 9 f.

²⁹ Sil. It. XV, 97 ff.

³⁰ Cat. LXVIII, 147 f.; Mart. XII, 34, 5 ff.; XI, 36, 1 f.; Ov. *Ex Ponto* IV, 4, 18; *Pers.* II, 1-2; Sil. It. XV, 53.

³¹ Acro on Hor. *Od.* I, 36, 10: "Cretensibus enim mos erat dies laetos albis calculis, nigris contrarios numerare."

³² *Aen.* III, 390 ff.; VIII, 43 ff.; cf. Juv. XII, 72 f.

bearing a sprig of laurel in its beak,³³ and, with its descendants, was especially cared for afterwards by direction of the augurs.

The sacrifice of white animals is so frequently mentioned that only a few instances can be given. On the Ides a white lamb was sacrificed to Jupiter;³⁴ Aeneas devoted the famous white sow to Juno;³⁵ when the Ludi Apollinares were instituted, 212 B. C., white goats were decreed as an offering to Apollo;³⁶ to both Apollo and Diana Augustus offered white cattle;³⁷ Horace vowed a white goat to Liber in gratitude at being saved from death under a falling tree.³⁸ To Venus,³⁹ Pax,⁴⁰ Salus,⁴¹ Mars,⁴² Minerva,⁴³ Dea Dia,⁴⁴ and "multis aliis divis"⁴⁵ similar honors were paid. If a white animal could not be obtained, chalk might cover the obnoxious red,⁴⁶ or a white spot on the forehead would suffice.⁴⁷ By the third century A. D. even religious conservatism had given way, for Arnobius writes: "In Albano antiquitus monte nullos alios licebat quam nivei tauros immolare candoris: nonne istum morem religionemque mutastis atque ut rufulos liceret dari, senatus constitutum sanctione est?"⁴⁸

³³ Pliny, *N. H.* XV, 136.

³⁴ *Ov. Fast.* I, 56; cf. *Acta Fr. Arv.* cxiii Henzen; Sen., *Med.* 59 ff.; *Secular Or.*, in Zosimus *H. N.* II, 6 (Diels, *Sib. Bl.* 134); Juv. XII, 5 ff.

³⁵ *Aen.* VIII, 82 ff.; cf. *Sib. Or.* II, 50 f. (Diels, 114); *Aen.* IV, 59 ff.; Sen. *Ag.* 363 f.

³⁶ Livy XXV, 12, 13.

³⁷ *Hor. C. S.* 49 ff.; cf. *Sib. Or.* II, 44 ff. (Diels, 114).

³⁸ *Hor. Od.* III, 8, 6 ff.

³⁹ *Ov. Met.* X, 270 ff.

⁴⁰ *Ov. Fast.* I, 719 f.

⁴¹ *Acta Fr. Arv.*, CXIV Henzen.

⁴² Livy VII, 37, 1 ff. The consul presents P. Decius Mus with one hundred ordinary oxen and one fine white ox with gilded horns as a reward for conspicuous bravery. Decius sacrifices the white ox to Mars, and gives the others to his soldiers. Pliny (*N. H.* XXII, 9) states that Decius sacrificed the red oxen also to Mars.

⁴³ *Acta Fr. Arv.*, Henzen, CXIII.

⁴⁴ *Acta Fr. Arv.*, Henzen, CXLVI, CCXXVII; v. pp. 20-21.

⁴⁵ Livy XXII, 10, 7; cf. Sen. *Ag.* 585. Interesting in this connection is the sacrifice of white animals to favorable winds and black to unfavorable: *Aen.* III, 120: "nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam"; cf. Aristoph. *Frogs*, 847 f. and Scholiast.

⁴⁶ Lucilius CVI, 140 (L. Müller): "Cretatumque bovem duc ad Capitolia magna"; cf. Juv. X, 65 f.

⁴⁷ *Hor. Od.* IV, 2, 54 ff. So at Iguvium cattle with white spots on the forehead were sacrificed to Vofionis Grabovius; cf. *Tab. Iguvinae* I, a 20; VI, b 19, Bücheler, *Umbrica*, 2, 18; cf. *Isid. Orig.* XII, 1, 52.

⁴⁸ Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* II, 68. Note that at Iguvium red or black animals were regularly offered to Cerfus Martius and to Praestita Cerfia; cf. Bücheler, *Umbrica*, pp. 3, 23, 105-107.

Not only in sacrificing but also in other religious acts white was employed. White horses like those of Jupiter and the Sun⁴⁹ drew the triumphator's car at Rome, as they drew the chariot of Ormuzd⁵⁰ in the Persian procession. Romulus yoked a white ox and a white heifer to mark out the walls of Rome.⁵¹

White garments were regularly used in the worship of the heavenly deities.⁵² Of the Cerealia Ovid tells us, "alba decent Cererem: vestis Cerealibus albas | sumite,"⁵³ and there is abundant evidence for the same custom in the ritual of other deities⁵⁴ and on festal occasions generally.⁵⁵ A similar use of white garments is found in Greece,⁵⁶ among the priests of the Syrian goddesses,⁵⁷ and the Druids.⁵⁸ Both priests and victims wore white *infulae* and *vittae*,⁵⁹ which, as Pley⁶⁰ has fully shown, were also used to adorn statues of the gods and god-like men, temples, sacred groves, and trees—in short, everything consecrated to the gods of heaven.

⁴⁹ Livy V, 23, 5-7: "Maxime conspectus ipse est curru equis albis iuncto urbem invectus. . . Iovis Solisque equis aequiperatum dictatorem in religionem etiam trahebant"; cf. Plut. *Camillus* 7; Serv. *Aen.* IV, 543; Prop. IV, 1, 32; Tib. I, 7, 7 f.; Ov. *Fast.* VI, 723 f.; A. A. I, 214; Claud. *De Bello Goth.* 126 f.

⁵⁰ Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* III, 3, 11. The Persians also sacrificed white horses to the Sun; cf. Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* I, 31, 2. According to Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, p. 44, the Slavs sacrificed a white horse to the god of light, a black one to his evil opponent.

⁵¹ Ov. *Fast.* IV, 826 ff.

⁵² Cic. *De Leg.* II, 45. The one exception seems to be the Floralia, but we are not told the colors employed. Cf. Ov. *Fast.* V, 356: "cultu versicolore"; cf. Neapolis: "Luxuriosis olim proprius hic habitus. Unde forte in his festis receptum puto, quia ad meretrices, celebritas pertinebat . . . de pallio lenonis comici haec Donatus: Leno pallio varii coloris utitur. Hoc idem ἀνθινὸν dicitur a Polluce: πορροβοσκοὶ δὲ χιτῶνι βαπτῶ καὶ ἀνθινῶ περιβολαίῳ ἐνδεδυνται.

⁵³ Ov. *Fast.* IV, 619 f.; cf. *Met.* X, 431 ff.

⁵⁴ Serv. *Aen.* X, 539: "vestes albas . . . quae sunt sacerdotibus congruae"; Sil. It. III, 694 f.: "ante aras stat veste sacerdos | effulgens nivea"; Tib. II, 1, 16; Prop. IV, 6, 71; Ov. *Fast.* II, 654; *Am.* II, 13, 23; *Trist.* III, 13, 13 f.; V. 5, 7 f.; Pers. II, 39 f.; Dessau 7212, pp. 738 f.

⁵⁵ Schol. on Pers. I, 16; Hor. *Sat.* II, 2, 60 f. and schol; Mart. VIII, 65, 5; Cass. Dio LXXIV, 1; cf. A. J. A. XVIII, 1914, p. 343, l. 8 of Sardis inscription.

⁵⁶ Aeschin. c. *Ctes.* 77; Q. Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* IV, 15, 27; 13, 15; C. I. G. II, 2715 a, 8; Dittenberger, *Syll.*² II, no. 790, ll. 39 ff.; Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, 246, 38; Isid. *Orig.* XIX, 22, 9.

⁵⁷ Lucian, *De Syria Dea* 42; Apul. *Met.* VIII, 27.

⁵⁸ Pliny, *N. H.* XVI, 251.

⁵⁹ They are usually white or white and scarlet, occasionally *purpureus* or *caeruleus*.

⁶⁰ Pley, *De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu*, Relgesch. Versuche, XI, 502 ff.

All these instances prove that among the Romans white was sacred to the heavenly deities.⁶¹ It is true that we occasionally find white used as a prophylactic,⁶² more often as a curative,⁶³ but black, red, green and yellow are used for the same purposes. Ghosts are clad in white⁶⁴ or black.⁶⁵ In the realm of magic and medicine there appears to be great confusion of ideas,⁶⁶ whereas in the religious ritual the lines are much more sharply drawn. Fehrle⁶⁷ thinks the religious wearing of white among the most different peoples is prophylactic. Wächter⁶⁸ makes the same suggestion, but considers it probable that white, on which every stain is easily perceptible, was recognized as the cleanest color, hence was the purest and best suited for worship. This idea is certainly not primitive, though it could easily develop from the reverence for light. Prophylaxis may be the original idea where white is used also for the dead, as among the Persians⁶⁹ and Egyptians;⁷⁰ but since the Romans made no use of it in burial—whereas they employed *purpureus*, which is clearly prophylactic, in the ritual of both chthonic and heavenly deities—it seems quite impossible to ascribe such a character to their use of white in ritual. To them white represented the clear light of

⁶¹ For further references and Christian symbolism, cf. Goetz, *Weiss und Schwarz bei den Römern*, Festschrift zum 25 jährigen Stiftungsfest des hist.-phil. Vereines der Universität München, 1905, pp. 63-70.

⁶² Pliny, *N. H.* XXVIII, 29: "Mucianus ter consul . . . viventem muscam in linteolo albo, his remediis carere ipsos lippitudine praedicantes"; cf. the use of hawthorn to keep off spirits [Photius and Hesych. *μαρά ημέρα*; Dioscorides, *De Rhamno* I, 90; Varro ap. Charis. p. 144, 22 Keil; Ov. *Fast.* VI, 129 ff. and Neapolis' note: "quod observandum duxi, omnibus spinarum generibus veteres nozarum pellendi vim ingenitam credidisse: nam et aspalato (arbor est alba cum spinis) eandem tribunt potestatem,"] and as a torch at weddings (Pliny, *N. H.* XVI, 75; Fest. 245 M., 282 L., Paul. 87 M., 77 L., in connection with which cf. Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*², p. 55). So in Ireland the rowan-tree, also white flowered (*Cent. Dict.*, "mountain ash"), is "put over the door and in the fields on May Eve to save man, beast and crop"; G. H. Kinahan, *Notes on Irish Folk-Lore*, Folk-Lore Record IV, 1881, 117. May not its protective power lie partly, at least, in its color?

⁶³ Pliny, *N. H.* XXIX, 124; XXX, 121; XXXVI, 56; XXIV, 77.

⁶⁴ Livy, XXI, 62, 5; XXIV, 10, 10.

⁶⁵ L. Annaeus Florus IV, 7, 8 (= II, 17, 8 Rossbach); Apul. *Met.* IX, 30 (cf. III. 8).

⁶⁶ I believe that the confusion is only seeming and that careful study will reveal the reason for choice of different colors in apparently similar cases.

⁶⁷ Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, Relgesch. Versuche VI, 68 ff.

⁶⁸ Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult*, Relgesch. Versuche IX, 161.

⁶⁹ Chantepie de la Saussaye, quoted by Wächter, *l. c.*

⁷⁰ Ludwig Weniger, *Feralis Exercitus*, Arch. Rel. X, 1907, 251.

day, hence was pleasing to the powers of the sky;⁷¹ black was the color of night and of the interior of the earth, therefore it was fitting for the underworld.

⁷¹ Frazer, *G. B.*, *The Magic Art I*, 314, tells of the mock sun used by the Banks Islanders to make sunshine; a stone is tied with a red thread, and white rods are placed radiating from it to imitate sunshine.

CHAPTER IV

GOLD

To gild the horns of sacrificed animals was a common practice among both Greeks and Romans. There can be little doubt that it was followed even in pre-Hellenic times, since bulls were the chief object of sacrifice,¹ and a silver bull's head with gilded horns was found in one of the graves at Mycenae.² Homer describes the process of gilding;³ Diomedes vows to bring Pallas a heifer, χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχέβας.⁴ Aeschines is compared to an animal with golden horns ready for the altar,⁵ while Plato speaks of such offerings as of common occurrence.⁶

Grimm found the same custom in the North: "*Goldhörnige Kühe* verlangt eine Stelle der edda Saem. 141^a und im mansfeldischen Dorfe Fienstädt war ein kohlschwarzes Rind mit weisser Blässe und weissen Füßen und ein Ziegenbock mit *vergoldeten Hörnern* zur Entrichtung auferlegt."⁷ Pliny mentions the Roman custom,⁸ which is met again and again in literature and in the inscriptions of the Arval Brothers. Ascanius vows to Jupiter, 'statuam ante aras aurata fronte iuvenum | candentem.'⁹ In 212 B. C. the senate decreed, 'ut decemviri sacrum Graeco ritu facerent hisque hostiis: Apollini bove aurato et capris duabus albis auratis, Latonae bove femina aurata.'¹⁰ Ovid represents Pythagoras as complaining, 'victima labe carens et praestantissima forma | . . . vittis insignis et auro | sistitur ante aras.'¹¹ Thanksgivings are offered for the safe return of the Argonauts, 'inductaque cornibus aurum | victima vota litat.'¹² Martial promises Apollo, 'Felix tunc ego debitorque voti | casurum tibi rusticas ad aras | ducam cornibus aureis

¹ Williams, in Mrs. Hawes' *Gournia*, p. 52.

² *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* XXVI, 1911, pp. 249 ff., pls. VII-VIII.

³ *Od.* III, 425 ff.

⁴ *Il.* X, 294; cf. *Od.* III, 382.

⁵ Aeschin. *c. Ctes.* 164.

⁶ Plato, *Alc.* II, 149 c.

⁷ Grimm, *Deutsche Myth.* I⁴, 44.

⁸ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIII, 39: "Deorum honoris causa in sacris nihil aliud excogitatum est quam ut auratis cornibus hostiae, maiores dumtaxat, immolarentur."

⁹ *Aen.* IX, 627 f.

¹⁰ Livy XXV, 12, 13; cf. Macrobian *Sat.* I, 17, 29.

¹¹ Ov. *Met.* XV, 130 ff.

¹² Ov. *Met.* VII, 161 f.

iuuencum.¹³ Juvenal advises the husband whose wife is chaste to 'slay a gilded heifer to Juno.'¹⁴ The Arval Brothers yearly vowed similar sacrifices to the Capitoline Triad and Salus,¹⁵ and on extraordinary occasions to other deities also, including Mars, Victoria, Fortuna redux, Vesta, Neptune, Hercules, Lares militares and the Genius of the Emperor.¹⁶ In 224 A. D. they sacrificed to Dea Dia, in expiation of an injury done her sacred grove by lightning, 'b(oves) f(eminas) a(uro) i(unctas) n(umero) II.'¹⁷ That the 'vacca honoria alba' annually offered to her¹⁸ had its horns gilded is therefore very probable.

"Like mediaeval painters, the ancients held gold to be the supreme color, the badge of deity. . . . Gold and white go together," says Gummere.¹⁹ At Sais, during the rites commemorating the death of Osiris, "an image of a cow, made of gilt wood with a golden sun between its horns, was carried out of the chamber in which it stood the rest of the year. The cow no doubt represented Isis herself."²⁰ Her white-clad priests carried golden objects during her gestival at Cenchrae,²¹ her sacred boat had white sails and a gilded stern,²² her ancient image was a golden urn.²³ Anubis, "ille superum commeator et inferum," appeared with his face half black, half golden.²³ In China the earthenware cow representing the corn spirit had gilded horns.²⁴ The high priest of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis wore a golden tiara.²⁵ The Persians guiding the white horses of Ormuzd were robed in white and carried golden branches.²⁶ White and gold marked the constellation of the Bears, appearing as a god to its worshippers.²⁷ Among the He-

¹³ Mart. IX, 42, 8 ff.

¹⁴ Juv. VI, 48; cf. Schol.: "cornibus inauratis, queis aurea induta vel illita bractea."

¹⁵ *Acta Fr. Arv.*, Henzen, XLI f.; cf. 100 ff.

¹⁶ *Acta Fr. Arv.*, Henzen, CXL ff.; CXCVIII; cf. 122 ff. There can be no doubt that the same custom is observed even when the gilded horns are not expressly mentioned.

¹⁷ *Acta Fr. Arv.* CCXIII f.; cf. 144 for Henzen's explanation of "auro iunctas" as equivalent to "auratas."

¹⁸ *Acta Fr. Arv.* CXLVI; cf. 20 f.; cf. XLII, 13.

¹⁹ Gummere, *On the Symbolic Use of the Colors Black and White in Germanic Tradition*, Haverford College Studies, No. 1, p. 135.

²⁰ Frazer, *G. B.*, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, II³, p. 50; cf. p. 91.

²¹ Apul. *Met.* XI, 10.

²² Apul. *Met.* XI, 16.

²³ Apul. *Met.* XI, 11.

²⁴ Frazer, *G. B.*, Spirits of the Corn II, 11.

²⁵ Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, 42.

²⁶ Q. Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* III, 3, 11.

²⁷ Dieterich, *Mithras Liturgie*, 14.

brews, the ark of the Covenant,²⁸ Solomon's temple,²⁹ and the altar of incense³⁰ were overlaid with gold, and many of their accessories were of gold, while gold had its place upon the high priest's ephod, girdle, breastplate, robe and mitre.³¹ At Rome the same conditions existed. To Jupiter³² belonged the garments inwrought with gold³³ which his representative, the triumphator, wore, the golden crown which was held over his head,³⁴ and the gilded chariot in which he rode.³⁵ Juno's sacred geese were adorned with gold and purple when they went for their yearly ride,³⁶ and Metellus Pius was severely blamed for wearing golden crowns like a deity.³⁷ So Dolon, the Trojan, declares Rhesus' golden coat of mail is "such as becomes not mortal men to wear, but the gods only."³⁸

The poets ascribe golden thrones, sceptres and ornaments to the gods, to kings (their earthly representatives), and to heroes, who have much of the divine in their natures.³⁹ As we would expect, this is especially true of the Sun and his race. Helios drives a golden chariot⁴⁰ all day, and at night is carried in a golden bed⁴¹ back to the starting-point of his labors; the golden cup in which Heracles sails across the ocean is his;⁴² his cattle are white with golden horns;⁴³ his descendants

²⁸ *Exodus* XXV.

²⁹ *2nd Chron.* III-IV.

³⁰ *Exodus* XXX, 3-5.

³¹ *Exodus* XXVIII.

³² *Livy* X, 7, 10; *Suet.* *Aug.* 94.

³³ The "toga picta" and "tunica palmata"; cf. *Pliny, N. H.* XXXIII, 63: "Tunica aurea triumphasse Tarquinium Priscum Verrius docet"; *Appian, Rom. Hist.* VIII, 66; *Marquardt, Privatreben* II², 543; *Müller, Die Etrusker* I, 347.

³⁴ *Gell. V.* 6; cf. *Livy* XXX, 15, 11-12.

³⁵ *Hor. Epod.* IX, 21 f.; *Prop.* I, 16, 3.

³⁶ *Serv. Aen.* VIII, 652: "qua causa postea eo die quo hoc factum est . . . anseres auro et purpura exornati in lepticis gestabantur."

³⁷ *Val. Max.* IX, 1, 5: "cum palmata veste convivia celebrabat demissasque lacunaribus aureas coronas velut caelesti capite recipiebat."

³⁸ *Il.* X, 439 ff. (*Bryant's translation*).

³⁹ Perhaps the name Chrysostom was due to a similar idea. *Pliny's story (N. H.* VII, 123) of the astrologer Berosus is interesting: "Berosus cui ob divinas praedictiones Athenienses publice in gymnasio statuam inaurata lingua statuere." Compare with this the stone *aureo colore* which was said to give prophetic dreams (*Pliny, N. H.* XXXII, 167).

⁴⁰ *Ov. Met.* II, 107 f.

⁴¹ *Mimnerm.* 11 Bergk; cf. *Ath.* XI, 468-470; *Stesich.* 6 Bergk.

⁴² *Ath.* XI, 470 a.

⁴³ *Apoll. Rhod.* IV, 977 f.

are recognized by the far-flashing golden gleam of their eyes,⁴⁴ or wear a golden-rayed nimbus.⁴⁵ Phrixus sacrificed the golden-fleeced ram, the gift of the gods,⁴⁶ to Zeus,⁴⁷ but presented the shining pelt to Aeëtes,⁴⁸ son of Helios.

Zeus's sceptre,⁴⁹ his armor and scourge⁵⁰ are of gold; his steeds,⁵⁰ like Poseidon's horse,⁵¹ have golden manes, and his chariot is of gold and silver.⁵² In "golden Olympus"⁵³ "golden-sandalled Hera"⁵⁴ and other deities sit on golden⁵⁵ thrones. Artemis is "the Huntress with the golden shaft"⁵⁶ and a stag with golden horns is dedicated to her;⁵⁷ Pallas wears a golden helmet;⁵⁸ both drive golden chariots;⁵⁹ Dionysus wears a golden head-band.⁶⁰ Apollo's lyre,⁶¹ his sword,⁶² and often his bow,⁶³ like Mercury's caduceus and talaria,⁶⁴ are of gold. Delos becomes all golden after Apollo's birth.⁶⁵ Circe and Calypso wear robes of white

⁴⁴ Apoll. Rhod. IV, 727 ff.

⁴⁵ Verg. *Aen.* XII, 160-164. "Latinus | . . . cui tempora circum | aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt, | Solis avi specimen."

⁴⁶ Zenob. IV, 38 (*F. H. G. Müller*, II, 344); Apollod. I, 9, 4; Apoll. Rhod. II, 1144 f.

⁴⁷ Schol. on Apoll. Rhod., Merkel-Keil, p. 534; Apollod. I, 9, 1.

⁴⁸ Apollod. I, 9, 1. Other forms of the legend say the fleece was consecrated to Zeus (Scholia in Caes. Germanici Aratea, 60 B) or to Ares (Hyginus, *Fab.*, p. 39 Schmidt.)

⁴⁹ Bacchyl. VIII [IX], 100.

⁵⁰ *Il.* VIII, 42 ff.

⁵¹ Apoll. Rhod. IV, 1365 f.

⁵² *Il.* V, 722 ff. May silver, the white metal, represent the light of day? cf. "the silver spokes of Helios' car" (Ov. *Met.* II, 108); Apollo "of the silver bow" (*Il.* I, 49; Apoll. Rhod. II, 678); Pliny (*N. H.* XXXIII, 58) "colore, qui clarior in argento est magisque diei similis."

⁵³ Bacchyl. X (XI), 4. So Valhalla is roofed with golden shields, and the Friscian king is shown a house glittering with gold prepared for his use after death; cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Myth.* II⁴, 583, 683.

⁵⁴ Hes. *Theog.* 11 f., 454.

⁵⁵ Bacchyl. X, [XI], 37 f.

⁵⁶ *Il.* I, 611; VIII, 436, 442; IX, 533; *Aen.* X, 116 f.

⁵⁷ Pind. *Ol.* 3, 51.

⁵⁸ *Il.* V, 743 f.; Hes. *Scut. Her.* 199.

⁵⁹ Bacchyl. XII [XIII], 194 f.; Apoll. Rhod. III, 878.

⁶⁰ Soph. *O. T.* 209.

⁶¹ Hes. *Scut. Her.* 203.

⁶² *Il.* XV, 256; Pindar, *Pyth.* V, 104.

⁶³ Hes. *Works and Days* 771; Apoll. Rhod. IV, 1709.

⁶⁴ *Od.* X, 277; XXIV, 1-4; *Aen.* IV, 239 ff.; Hor. *Od.* I, 10, 18 f.; Ov. *Her.* XV, 64; Mart. VII, 74, 1 f.; cf. Cass. Dio LXXII, 19.

⁶⁵ Callim. *Eis Δῆλον*, 260 ff.

with golden girdles.⁶⁶ Agamemnon's ancestral sceptre, once the possession of Zeus himself⁶⁷ and worshiped by the Chaeroneans in Pausanias' time,⁶⁸ is called golden.⁶⁹ Alcinous' staff of justice,⁷⁰ and Aeëtes' helmet⁷¹ are of the same shining metal. A ram with golden fleece,⁷² perhaps symbolizing the royal power,⁷³ caused the strife between Atreus and his brother. Dido's apparel,⁷⁴ like that of other royal personages,⁷⁵ is of purple and gold. Amphion sings to the accompaniment of his golden lyre.⁷⁶ Bellerophon captures Pegasus with a golden bridle⁷⁷ given him by Athena. Cos, daughter of the Titan Merops, is changed by Artemis into a hind with golden horns.⁷⁸ Golden hair is characteristic of divinities and heroes.⁷⁹ A "Golden Race of men" made by the Olympian gods lived during the Golden Age, which is "a replica of heaven, a mortal reflexion of the glory of the immortals."⁸⁰

⁶⁶ *Od.* V, 230 ff.; X, 543 ff.

⁶⁷ *Il.* II, 100 ff.

⁶⁸ Paus. IX, 40, 11 f.

⁶⁹ *Il.* II, 268.

⁷⁰ Apoll. Rhod. IV, 1178.

⁷¹ Apoll. Rhod. III, 1228.

⁷² See Pauly-Wissowa, *Atreus*, for a full account of the legend and for references.

⁷³ Whether Seneca (*Thyestes* 225 ff.) introduced this idea or took it from a legend already existing is uncertain; cf. Schol. *Il.* 2, 105; Schol. Pers. V, 8; "purpureis" here has the meaning of "bright." A. B. Cook formerly considered that Atreus' ram symbolized the sun, but now believes it was rather the visible embodiment of Zeus; cf. *Zeus, A Study in Ancient Religion*, I, 409 ff.

⁷⁴ *Aen.* IV, 139 f.

⁷⁵ *Aen.*, VII, 251, 815 ff.; Livy XXVII, 4, 8-10; Ov. *Met.* VII, 103; VIII 33 f.; *Her.* XII, 52; Sen. *Ag.* 877 ff.; *Thy.* 344 ff.; Q. Curt. Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* III, 3, 17-18.

⁷⁶ Apoll. Rhod. I, 740.

⁷⁷ Pind. *Ol.* XIII, 92 and 111.

⁷⁸ Eur. *Hel.* 381 f. Vergil (*Georg.* IV, 371) represents the Po with gilded horns. Editors have many explanations to suggest:—the fertility of the adjoining fields, the tradition of particles of gold in the river, the custom of gilding the horns of victims, the fact that *aureus* was a suitable epithet for attributes of the gods. It seems probable that Vergil was influenced by more than one of these ideas, and also by a desire for color contrast (*auratus* . . . Eridanus . . . in mare *purpureum*). Of the eight rivers mentioned in the passage, the Po is the only one thus described. Claudianus (*Sext. Cons. Hon.* 161) follows Vergil in assigning golden horns to the Po, and Martial (X, 7, 6) assigns them to the Rhine. Ausonius (*Mosella* 471) imitates Vergil in speaking of the Moselle.

⁷⁹ See K. F. Smith's *Tibullus*, p. 189, n. 15, and W. P. Mustard's *Sannazaro*, p. 78, n. 84, for instances.

⁸⁰ Cf. K. F. Smith's *Ages of the World*, Hasting's Encyl. of Religion and Ethics, I, pp. 192-200.

The superficial explanation of this use of gold by divine beings and their human representatives is that its purity⁸¹ renders it fitting for them or its costliness makes it obtainable by them alone. But in the religious lore of India gold represents success, prosperity, glory, health, long life—even immortality.⁸² The *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*⁸³ give us many such instances.⁸⁴ Through the agency of the gods it is of service in obtaining a good husband or wife⁸⁵ (pp. 94, 95); a gold-covered amulet aids in transferring to the king the 'lustre . . . inherent in man, animals, and brilliant substances'⁸⁶ (pp. 116-477); the glint on the surface of the pearl and its shell suggests gold, and they become an amulet giving long life and prosperity, protecting against demons and 'the missiles of the gods' (pp. 62, 383 ff.); an herb employed in healing wounds is 'gold-coloured, lovely, sun-coloured' (p. 21); the gods bring the marvellous plant *kustha* in a golden ship with golden tackle and oars⁸⁷ (pp. 4-6); golden spades are used to dig up a remedy for the serpent's poison (p. 153); the golden-colored amulet of varana-wood is 'a universal cure' and 'will protect thee from all evil!' (pp. 82 ff.);⁸⁸ another that 'bestows faith, sacrifice and might' has 'a golden wreath' (p. 84), and 'mother earth' is 'the golden-breasted resting-place of all living creatures' (pp. 200, 207).

Still more significant are the examples collected by von Negelein.⁸⁹ Gold leaves laid upon the orifices of the body are purifying and healing. Gold wards off death. In the royal consecration ceremony the priest throws a small gold plate beneath the king's foot with the words, 'Save him from death!'; then places one on the king's head with, 'Might thou art, victory thou art, immortality thou art!' 'gold being immortal life,

⁸¹ Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIII, 58-59.

⁸² Cf. "New Jerusalem," a city of "pure gold," in which is the tree of life. (*Rev.* XXI-XXII).

⁸³ Bloomfield, *Sacred Books of the East*, XLII.

⁸⁴ The use of gold together with other yellow objects as a cure for jaundice is a different matter, due to "sympathetic magic"; cf. pp. 7, 8, 263. The goddess of misfortune is euphemistically called "golden-locked," and the goddess of avarice and grudge, "gold-complexioned, lovely one," p. 173.

⁸⁵ Cf. Aegisthus' gifts of gold at the shrine of the gods that they may help him to win Clytemnestra's favor, *Od.* III, 274.

⁸⁶ Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* XXI, 66: "Heliochrysus florem habet auro similem. Hoc coronare se magi, si et unguenta sumantur ex auro, quod apyron vocant, ad gratiam quoque vitae gloriamque pertinere arbitrantur."

⁸⁷ See p. 415 for Bloomfield's suggestion that the ship may represent the moon.

⁸⁸ Cf. the panacea with a golden flower mentioned by Pliny, *N. H.* XXV, 32.

⁸⁹ von Negelein, *Der Traumschlüssel*, Relgesch. Versuche XI, 1912, p. 158.

he thus lays immortal life into him'; thus the king is 'enclosed on both sides with immortal life.'⁹⁰ To drink melted butter from a golden dish is to drink long life from immortality, for melted butter is equivalent to long life, and gold means immortality.⁹¹ Gold crowns adorn a victim and after sacrifice gold is placed on each side of it, because 'thereby then it rests in immortal life; and so it rises from hence and so it lives.'⁹²

How did such qualities come to be attributed to gold? The answer is not far to seek. We have already noticed in the *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*⁹³ that the plant which heals wounds is 'gold-coloured . . . sun-coloured . . . fiery' (p. 21). Savitar (the sun in his daily course) is 'golden-handed (p. 168). Ushas, the dawn, with whom 'Sûrya is probably identical' (p. 503) is 'golden-coloured.'⁹⁴ Gold is '(endowed by) the sun with beautiful colour' and brings long life, lustre and strength to him who wears it (cf. p. 668); it is 'born of fire'; it is '(the gold) which king Varuna knows, which god Brihaspati knows, which Indra knows,' and 'a source of life' (p. 63). It is one of the three sources of light (p. 116), the others being Sûrya (the sun), and Agni (fire). Gold is the symbol of the sun and 'all the gods are his (the sun's) rays of light.'⁹⁵

Crooke⁹⁶ tells us that among a tribe of sun-worshippers in Northern India "a large painted sun of gypsum in high relief with *gilded rays* adorns the hall of audience . . . The sacred standard bears his image, as does the disc of black felt or ostrich feathers with a *plate of gold in its centre to represent the sun*, borne aloft on a pole." Another tribe, about 1000 A. D., regarded the sun "as a material being in the form of a man with golden beard and golden hair."⁹⁷

The Peruvian Vestals were the wives of the Sun, and all the furniture of their convent, as of the temple of the Sun, was made of gold and silver; the sacred garden was all golden, even to the very clods.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ Eggeling, *Sacred Books of the East*, XLI, pp. 92 f.

⁹¹ von Negelein, *l. c.*

⁹² Eggeling, *Sacred Books of the East*, XXVI, p. 206.

⁹³ Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 168, 503.

⁹⁴ Varuna, god of the vault of heaven. Brihaspati, lord of prayer and worship; sometimes he seems to represent the element of light and fire generally; cf. Eggeling, *Sacred Books of the East* XII, p. xvi, n. 3. Indra, son of Dyaus (the shining sky) and Prithivi (the earth); favorite weapon, the thunderbolt.

⁹⁵ Eggeling, *op. cit.*, XXVI, pp. 115, 224.

⁹⁶ Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, I, p. 8. (The italics are mine.)

⁹⁷ Crooke, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁹⁸ Frazer, *G. B.*, *The Magic Art* I, 243 f.

Only the gleaming color of gold fitly represents the life-giving sun. This gleaming color cannot be reproduced in textiles, hence yellow cloths or garments are not used with the same significance as gold.

Yet in the Rig-Veda Agni also is 'golden-coloured,'⁹⁹ and to him is uttered the prayer: 'Thy sweetest aspect, O Agni, shines near us for glory's sake, now by day, now by night, like gold.

Like purified ghrita is thy stainless body; (it is) brilliant gold: that (body) of thine has shone, O self-dependent one, like gold' (IV, 10. 5-6).

Frazer has most carefully shown the connection of wood, fire, and sun in the Aryan beliefs, and inclines towards Mannhardt's theory, that fire-festivals, especially at the summer solstice, "are intended to reinforce the waning or waxing fires of the sun."¹⁰⁰ He has collected many instances of belief in the impregnating influence of the sun, among them the story of Danaë and the golden shower, and has recalled Greek tales, old and new, of life or strength depending on golden hair.¹⁰¹

This connection of fire, sun, life, and gold is still further shown by other passages in the Vedas. One tradition declares that at first Agni was the only immortal; then the gods established fire in their innermost souls, thus becoming immortal and unconquerable.¹⁰²

A similar element is found in the Norse legend that only the golden apples guarded by Iduna kept the gods young and strong. Another version appears in the tree of life with golden apples of eternal youth presented to Zeus and Hera as a wedding gift by the earth-goddess.¹⁰³ Upon the porridge cooked as a gift for the Brahmans the sacrificer places gold while the priest says: 'The fires all know one another, that which lives in plants and lives in the waters and all the (light-) gods that glow upon the heaven. The gold (here) becomes the light of him that cooks (the porridge).'¹⁰⁴ Bloomfield comments: 'Ordinary fire in wood, lightning in the (cloud-) waters, and the fire of the heavenly luminaries are reflected in the gold, presented by him that cooks the porridge: in giving the gold he becomes luminous, illustrious' (p. 654). A sacrificer gives gold to the priest who represents Agni; 'thereby indeed he preserves his own life, for gold is life. That he (Pragâpati or Varuna)

⁹⁹ Oldenberg, *Vedic Hymns*, Sacred Books of the East XLVI, part II, p. 325.

¹⁰⁰ Frazer, *G. B.*, Balder the Beautiful II, 72; *The Magic Art I*, 311-313.

¹⁰¹ Frazer, *G. B.*, Balder the Beautiful I, 73-75; II, 103 f.

¹⁰² Eggeling, *op. cit.* XII, p. 310.

¹⁰³ Pherecydes, *F. H. G.* I, 78, 33; Serv. *Aen.* IV, 484; see Pauly-Wissowa VIII, 1244 for further references. Perhaps the trees with golden apples in later folk-tales—e. g., Grimm's *Kindermaerchen* nos. 29, 57—are derived from a kindred source.

¹⁰⁴ Bloomfield, *op. cit.* 191 f.

gave to Agni, performing the office of the Agnidh (fire-kindler): wherefore now also gold is given to the Agnidh'; the priest accepts it with the words, 'be thou life to the giver.'¹⁰⁵

It is significant that the Romans ascribed both healing and harmful powers to gold.¹⁰⁶ Pliny has preserved for us several beliefs and practices which indicate that the use of gold in medicine and charms was widespread even in his day: 'Aurum pluribus modis pollet in remediis vulneratisque et infantibus adplicatur,¹⁰⁷ ut minus noceant quae inferantur veneficia. Est et ipsi superlato vis malefica, gallinarum quoque et pecuvariorum feturis.'¹⁰⁸ He mentions it as a remedy for ulcers, and names Varro as authority for the statement that it will cure warts.¹⁰⁹ He gives several other examples of its healing power, and describes its baleful effect on fowls: 'Non praeteribo miraculum quamquam ad medicinam non pertinens: si auro liquescenti gallinarum membra misceantur, consumunt id in se. Ita hoc venenum auri est. At gallinacei ipsi circulo e ramentis addito in collum non canunt.'¹¹⁰ Marcellus, who states that he had not only studied the works of famous physicians, but had also learned from lowly people of country and town 'remedia fortuita atque simplicia, quae experimentis probaverant,'¹¹¹ often advises the use of gold to help in curing various diseases or in preventing them. Charms of different sorts are very effective if enclosed in a gold *bullā* or lupine or scratched upon a gold plate and worn around the neck or on the part of the body affected.¹¹² Even a gold ring may be used under certain conditions.¹¹³ One prescription is especially insistent on the use of gold: 'Ad coli dolorem scribere debes in lamina aurea de grafio aureo . . . et laminam ipsam mittere intra tubulum aureum . . . et ligare in pede dextro.'¹¹⁴ In early times iron rings, not golden, were worn by the nobles, but there was one very interesting exception. Envoys about to set out for foreign countries were given gold rings by the State. These they wore only in public, changing them for the

¹⁰⁵ Eggeling, *op. cit.* XXVI, pp. 347 f.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Rudra's "Yellow, golden bow that slays hundreds," Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the golden bulla.

¹⁰⁸ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIII, 84; cf. XXX, 138.

¹⁰⁹ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIII, 85.

¹¹⁰ Pliny, *N. H.* XXIX, 80.

¹¹¹ Marcellus, *Introd.* 2.

¹¹² Marcellus VIII, 45, 50, 59; XX, 98; XXVI, 43; XXIX, 13, 51.

¹¹³ Marcellus XXIX, 23. So to-day a gold ring is applied to cure a sty.

¹¹⁴ Marcellus XXIX, 26.

usual iron ones at home. To no one else and for no other purpose were the rings given.¹¹⁵ Is it not probable that, since in early times it was a dangerous matter to travel into strange lands and the lives of ambassadors were not always safe, the gold was considered a protection, a giver and preserver of life? Or it may have been thought to ensure success in the mission, a secondary idea which we have seen also in Hindu folk-lore.

Nero at one time wore a golden bracelet enclosing a serpent's skin as an amulet, and in his hour of need sought vainly for it.¹¹⁶ Marcellus' prescriptions forbid us to think that the charm lay only in the skin. Moreover, Crooke¹¹⁷ has found similar instances among the tribes of Northern India: "Gold, and in a less degree silver, have a similar protective influence. The idea is apparently based on their scarcity and value, and on their colour, yellow and white being obnoxious to evil spirits. Hence a little bit of gold is put into the mouth of the dying Hindu, and both gold and silver, combined with tigers' claws and similar protectives, are largely used as amulets. These metals are particularly effective in the form of ornaments, many of which are images of the gods, or have some mystic significance, or are formed in imitation of some sacred leaf, flower, or animal. This is one main cause of the recklessness with which rich natives load their children with masses of costly jewelry, though they are well aware that the practice often leads to robbery and murder." "The letter from a Raja is spotted with gold-leaf as a preservative, partly to divert the glance of fascination and partly because gold is a scarer of demons."¹¹⁸

Since gold, like the sun, was a source of light and life, gold crowns were a natural gift to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Aust has collected many examples,¹¹⁹ the earliest recorded¹²⁰ being in 495 B. C., and com-

¹¹⁵ Pliny, *N. H.* XXIII, 11: "Longo certe tempore ne senatum quidem Romanum habuisse aureos manifestum est, siquidem iis tantum qui legati ad exterarum gentes ituri essent anuli publice dabantur, credo, quoniam ita exterorum honoratissimi intellegebantur. Neque aliis uti mos fuit quam qui ex ea causa publice accepissent . . . hi quoque ob legationem acceperant aureos in publico tantum utebantur iis, intra domos vero ferreis."

¹¹⁶ Suet. *Nero* 6. . . . "serpentis exuviis: quas tamen aureae armillae ex voluntate matris inclusas dextro brachio gestavit aliquamdiu, ac taedio tandem maternae memoriae abiecit, rursusque extremis suis rebus frustra requisit."

¹¹⁷ Crooke, *op. cit.* II, p. 15.

¹¹⁸ Crooke, *Introd. to Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, p. 191.

¹¹⁹ Roscher, *Lex.* II, 728; cf. the golden wreath, plate and mirrors offered at the sacrifice to Pragapâti, Eggeling, *op. cit.* XLI, p. 119.

¹²⁰ Livy II, 22, 6.

ments: "Den goldenen Kranz werden wir uns wohl bei allen Widmungen siegreicher Heerführer hinzu zu denken haben wenn er auch als selbstverständliche Gabe nicht ausdrücklich erwähnt wird. Auch für auswärtige Fürsten und Völkerschaften war die Darbringung einer *corona aurea* die gewöhnlichste Art der Huldigung." The golden possessions of the great god used by the triumphator have been mentioned. It is important to note that in early times the *tunica picta* was worn only by Jupiter's representative and by the Salii,¹²¹ the dancing priests of Mars, at the spring festival which closely resembles that of Apollo,¹²² who, in turn, was often identified with the Sun.

To sum up:—In gold is reflected the light of fire and of the heavenly luminaries; gold is healing, life-giving. The healthful rays of the sun¹²³ and the comforting warmth of fire must have made an impression on primitive man long before the discovery of gold; when found, the gleaming substance might easily seem to embody the virtues of the sun and of fire. Yet both are sometimes harmful;¹²⁴ so gold may work evil. Gold consecrated to the gods of light transfers life and prosperity to the giver, therefore gold on the horns of sacrificial animals or otherwise presented to the powers above brings to the sacrificer life and success from those powers.

There are a few instances in which gold is brought into relation with the underworld. Homer represents the seer Tiresias and the upright judge Minos each with his gold wand performing his characteristic duties in Hades, while the phantom of Heracles seems to wear his golden belt.¹²⁵ It is true that the thought of men continuing their usual occupations after death is comparatively late,¹²⁶ yet this introduction of gold into the realm of shadows is not inconsistent with the idea of life. Tiresias has been allowed by Persephone to keep intact his powers of thought and prophecy;¹²⁷ Minos, the son of Zeus, is still preëminent for wisdom and justice; Heracles is in reality among the immortal gods, so not without reason does his phantom wear the emblem of life.

One point remains to be mentioned. In the sixth book of the Aeneid a golden branch sacred to Persephone is Aeneas' open sesame to the underworld. The commentators are uncertain whether this idea is

¹²¹ Livy I, 20, 4.

¹²² Roscher, *Lex.* I¹, 425; II², 2404.

¹²³ Cf. "the Sun of righteousness, with healing in his wings," *Malachi* IV, 2.

¹²⁴ Cf. Apollo, the god of medicine, whose arrows may bring pestilence.

¹²⁵ *Od.* XI, 90 f., 570 f., 600-610.

¹²⁶ Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* I, 820; Helbig in Roscher, *Lex.* II-2, 2996.

¹²⁷ *Od.* X, 492 ff.

Vergil's own, or, as Heyne suggests, derived from some other legend, either of Heracles or Theseus. Although Hermes with his golden rod accompanied Heracles when he went for Cerberus and again when he brought back Alcestis,¹²⁸ there seems to be no emphasis laid upon the caduceus. Neither does gold seem to have been necessary for Ulysses, Orpheus, Peirithöus, or Psyche. Yet it is quite possible that such a legend did exist, that the life-giving metal could make the shadowy spirits of the realm of death give way before it, and could take mortals safely through that dread world. The disquieting element of Vergil's tale is the final dedication of the branch at Persephone's door (l. 636), but in the absence of any parallel it is not unsafe to give Vergil credit for an original idea. The golden bough at Nemi with its gloomy associations was surely suggestive enough to a poet's imagination. Or the golden branch may have been left in lieu of a life, since Aeneas himself returned unharmed to the upper world. At all events, the story has had its effect on succeeding literature. As Conington points out, Ovid, *Met.* XIV, 113 f., follows Vergil, while Heyne reminds us that to the same source are due Claudianus' tale of the tree with golden apples which Pluto promises his unwilling bride,¹²⁹ and Spenser's description of the "Gardin of Proserpina."¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa VIII, 790 and references.

¹²⁹ Claud. *De Raptu Proserp.* II, 290-294. It seems probable that the tree with golden apples given Hera as a wedding gift also influenced this passage.

¹³⁰ Spenser, *The Faerie Queen*, Bk. II, Canto VII, 53 ff.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In addition to the texts of Latin authors, the following works have been of especial service.

GENERAL

- Daremberg et Saglio. *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*.
 Friedländer, L. *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*.
 Marquardt-Mommsen. *Handbuch der römischen Altertümer*.
 Pauly-Wissowa. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
 Preller-Jordan. *Römische Mythologie*.
 Preller-Robert. *Griechische Mythologie*.
 Roscher. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*.
 Wissowa. *Religion und Kultus der Römer*. (Mueller's *Handbuch*, Vol. V, 4).

SPECIAL

- Blinkenberg, Chr. *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folk-Lore*. Cambridge University Press, 1911.
 Bloomfield, Maurice. *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. XLII.)
 Blümner, H. *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*. Berlin, 1912.
 Die rote Farbe im Lateinischen. (Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik VI, 1889).
 Die Farbenbezeichnungen bei den römischen Dichtern (Berliner Studien für classische Philologie und Archaeologie XIII, 3).
 Ueber die Farbenbezeichnungen bei den römischen Dichtern. (Philologus XLVIII, 1889).
 Buecheler, Francis. *Umbrica*. Bonn, 1883.
 Cook, A. B. *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, vol. I. Cambridge, University Press, 1915.
 The European Sky-God (Folk-Lore XV-XVI).
 Jupiter, Zeus and the Oak (Classical Review XVII-XVIII, 1903-4.)
 Crooke, W. *An Introduction to the popular religion and folk-lore of Northern India*. 1894.
 The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India, 2nd ed., 1896.
 Diels, Hermann. *Sibyllinische Blätter*. Berlin, 1890.
 Duhn, Friedrich von. *Rot und Tot* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. IX, 1906).
 Eggeling, Julius. *The Satapathabramana* (Sacred Books of the East, vols. XII, XXVI, XLI).
 Fowler, Warde W. *Roman Festivals*. London, 1899.
 The Religious Experience of the Roman People. London, 1911.
 Frazer, J. G. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. London, 1907-1915.
 Goetz, K. E. *Weisz und Schwarz bei den Römern*. Festschrift zum 25 jährigen Stiftungsfest des historisch-philologischen Vereines der Universität München, (1905).

- Grimm, Jacob. *Deutsche Mythologie*. Fourth edition, Berlin, 1875-78.
- Gummere, Francis B. *On the Symbolic Use of the Colors Black and White in German Tradition*. (Haverford College Studies, vol. I.)
- Helbig, Wolfgang. *Sur les Attributs des Saliens*. Paris, 1905.
Toga und Trabea (Hermes XXXIX, 1904).
- Henzen, J. H. W. *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*. Berlin, 1874.
- Jacobstahl, Paul. *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst*. Berlin, 1906.
- Kuhn, Adalbert. *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*. Second edition. Gütersloh, 1886.
- Mueller-Deeke. *Die Etrusker*. Stuttgart, 1877.
- Negelein, Julius von. *Der Traumschlüssel* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche XI, 1912)
- Oldenberg, Hermann. *Vedic Hymns* (Sacred Books of the East, XLVI, part II.)
- Pley, Jacob. *De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche XI, 1911).
- Price, Thomas R. *The Color-System of Vergil* (American Journal of Philology IV, 1883).
- Samter, Ernst. *Römische Sühnriter (Die Trabea)* (Philologus LVI, 1897).
Familien-Festen der Griechen und Römer. Berlin, 1901.
Geburt, Hochzeit, und Tod. Leipzig and Berlin, 1911.
- Sonny, A. *Rote Farbe im Totenkult* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, IX, 1906).
- Thulin, Carl. *Die Etruskische Disciplin*. Göteborg, Wald. 1906.

PERIODICALS

- Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
Classical Review.
Folk-Lore.
Folk-Lore Record.
Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.
Rheinische Museum.

VITA

Mary Emma Armstrong was born in Lapeer, Michigan, in 1872. She received the degree of A. B. from Olivet College, Olivet, Michigan, in 1894. She began graduate work at the University of Michigan in 1897, and received the degree of A. M. from that institution in 1898. After spending three years in teaching in secondary schools, she continued her studies in the University of Chicago. She spent the year 1902-1903 in Rome as a member of the American School of Classical Studies, travelling in Sicily during the spring. From 1903 to 1912 she taught Latin in the High School at Evansville, Indiana. She pursued graduate work in the Johns Hopkins University from 1912 to 1915 with Classical Archaeology as her principal subject and Latin and Ancient History as her subordinate subjects. She held a University fellowship in Classical Archaeology during the year 1914-1915.

She wishes to express her sincere thanks to Professors David M. Robinson, Kirby Flower Smith and Wilfred P. Mustard, to Dr. Ralph Van Deman Magoffin and Professor Maurice Bloomfield for the help and inspiration received from them during her three years of study at the University. She is under especial obligation to Professor Robinson for his generous criticism of both the manuscript and the proof of this dissertation, and to Professor Smith, who suggested its subject, and Professor Mustard for the advice and criticisms which they have freely given.

